Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN EASTERN RAJPUTANA

IN

1882-83.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

ROYAL ENGINEERS [BENGAL RETIRED],

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

VOLUME XX.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP.

1969

INDOLOGICAL BOOK HOUSE

VARANASI DELHI

INDIA

PREFACE.

DURING the cold season of 1882-83 I explored a great part of Eastern Rajputana, including portions of the states of Alwar, Bharatpur, Karauli, Dholpur, and Gwalior and the adjoining British districts of Delhi, Gurgaon, and Mathura.

In Alwar I visited the old capitals of Tejâra, Râjgarh, and Pâranagar, with the border forts of Indor, Sarhata, and Kotila, all of which have been famous for centuries in the history of the Mevs, or Meos of Mewât. As Hindus the Meos often successfully resisted the arms of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi until the time of Feroz Tughlak, when they became converts to Muhammadanism. But in spite of their change of religion the Moslem Meos were just as turbulent as their Hindu ancestors—and they remained virtually independent from the time of Timur's invasion until the conquest of Northern India by Bâbar. Bahâdur Khan Nâhar, the founder of the Khânzâdah dynasty of Mewât, secured the favour of Timur by numerous presents, of which the conqueror chiefly prized a pair of white parrots, or cockatoos, which must have been at least 80 years old, as they are said to have been in the possession of Tughlak Shah.

The principal remains of the Meo Rulers consist of mosques and tombs. At Kotila I found a fine old stone mosque, standing on an elevated site, which was formerly occupied by a famous Hindu Temple. It was begun by Bahâdur Nâhar himself in A.H. 795, and finished by his successor in A.H. 803, as recorded in the inscription over the entrance gateway of the enclosure.

The town of Sambhali, mentioned in this inscription, still exists under the name of Shâhâbâd, 4 miles to the west of Tejâra.

At Tejâra itself there is one of the largest Muhammadan tombs now standing in Northern India. The name of the owner of this fine mausoleum is not certainly known, but it is said to be the last resting-place of Alâ-ud-din Alam Shah, the brother of Sikandar Lodi, who was for a long time the Governor of Tejâra during Sikandar's reign. He afterwards disagreed with his nephew Ibrahim Lodi, and joined Bâbar, on his invasion, in A.H. 932. He lived into Humâyun's reign; but it is not known when or where he died.

In the Bharatpur territory I visited the holy grove, or forest, of Kadamba-vana, now called Kâman. The Hindu temples were demolished in the reign of Iltitmish, and a large mosque built on their site. The mosque is known as the Assi-Khambha, or "Eighty Pillars." Built into the wall inside I found an early inscription of the old Surasena Rajas of Muthura. An inscription over the gateway of the Masjid assigns its erection to Iltitmish.

From Kâman I went to Bayâna, one of the famous strongholds of Upper India. There I obtained a large number of Muhammadan inscriptions, of which the most interesting are a series recording the rule of the Auhadi family for several generations. Here again I found old mosques built of Hindu materials, which have now, under a Hindu government, reverted to Hindu use. The two principal mosques date from the reigns of Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalji and his son Kutb-ud-din Mubârak. The latter is now used as a cattle-yard, and is only known to the people as a *Nohara*, or "cattle-pen."

The great fort of Tahangarh in the Karauli territory has hitherto been unnoticed, although it was formerly one of the great forts of Upper India. It was besieged by Muhammad-bin-Sâm in person, and would appear to have remained in the hands of the Muhammadans down to the time of Ibrahim Lodi and Islam Shah Sûr, of both of whom inscriptions still remain in the fort. It is now quite deserted, and is filled with thick jungle infested by tigers. In the early Muhammadan histories the name is written *Thangar*; but the founda-

tion of the place is ascribed to Tahan Pâl, one of the early Yâdava Rajas, and the name is so written at the present day.

Whilst in this neighbourhood I visited the battle-field of Khânwa, where Bâbar defeated the great Hindu prince Sangrâm, Rana of Mewar, and his ally Hasan Khân, Ruler of Mewât. Here I sought for, and found, the Baoli well which Bâbar built on the spot where he poured out all the wine in his camp, in fulfilment of a vow which he had long made, and regularly neglected, until the imminent danger of his position in front of an overwhelming force reminded him of his broken vows.

In the Gwalior territory the chief place visited was the great Jain Temple of Dubkund. The site is very inaccessible, as it lies in the very heart of the deep jungles, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwalior direct, and 44 miles to west northwest from Sipri. From Gwalior the actual distance by road is 98 miles. The temple is a square enclosure of 81 feet each side. On each side there are ten rooms. The four corner rooms open outwards, but all the rest open inwards into a corridor supported on square pillars. The entrance is on the east side, through one of the small rooms. Each of these thirty-five chapels (thirty-four opening inwards, and four corner rooms opening outwards) originally contained a statue, of which only broken pieces now remain; but there are many of the pedestals still *in-situ* with richly carved canopies above. The entrance to each chapel is also most elaborately carved after the fashion of the entrance to the sanctum of a Brahman ical temple. There are four figures on each jamb, and three large seated figures on each lintel, one in the middle, and one at each end, with small standing figures between them.

On one of the pillars there is a short inscription which gives the date of 1152 Samvat, and on the pedestal of one of the broken figures there is a nearly obliterated inscription with the date of Samvat 1151. The temple, however, was built a few years earlier, as one of the pillars of the corridor or inside bears a long inscription of 59 lines, giving the date of the erection in Samvat 1145, or A.D. 1088. It opens with the Jaina invocation—

Aum! Namo Vitarâgâya.

"Glory to Vitarâga," which is oné of the titles of the Jaina Saints. As the inscription mentions the *Kachhapaghâta-tilaka*, or ornament of the Kachwâha race, the country must then have belonged to the Kacchwâha Raja of Gwalior.

At Pâroli and Parâvali, situated in the hills to the north of the fortress of Gwalior, at 9 to 16 miles, there is a very great assemblage of small stone temples of the later Gupta style. The most curious building is a large covered well, called *Chaua-kûa*, or the "Roofed well." It has a small temple of the Gupta style attached to it. It possesses an inscription dated in Samvat 1528, or A.D. 1471, during the reign of the Tomara Raja Sri Kirtti Singha Deva, who reigned from A.D. 1454 to 1479. But the well must be many centuries older than his time, as the style of the temple is undoubtedly that of the Gupta period, while the pillars show that a complete re-arrangement must have been made at some period long subsequent to the original erection.

In the district of Mathura I discovered several old inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period, one of which is dated in the year 62, or A.D. 150 according to my reckoning. A still older record was set up during the reign of the son of the Satrap Rajubula, who most probably ruled about the beginning of the Christian era. But the most valuable discovery made at Mathura was a colossal statue, 7 feet high, cut in the round, with an inscription in Maurya characters, like those on the Asoka Pillars. This statue was found at the village of Parkham, which is now one of the railway stations between Mathura and Agra.

At Mahâban, on the opposite bank of the Jumna a little below Mathura, I got a long inscription of 29 lines dated in Samvat 1207, or A.D. 1150, with the name of Maharaja Ajaya Pala Deva, one of the Yâduvansi Rajas, who reigned from A.D. 1135 to 1160. I found also that a considerable part of an old Hindu Temple was still standing intact in the Masjid of Eighty Pillars. Even the roof of this portion has remained undisturbed.

At Kota, 5 miles to the north of Mathura, I found a large number of pillars of a Buddhist railing. They were all of the usual type, with a male or female figure on one face, and

some lotus medallions on the opposite face. They were all of small size, being only 2 feet 8½ inches in height, with a breadth of 7 inches, and a thickness of 3 inches. Here I found a small independent group of two female figures, with a tree on the back of the sculpture.

At Chaumukha, there is a curious old Buddhist capital, with four females standing between four lions. Hence the name of the village, as Chau-mukha is only a corruption of Chatur-mukha, or "four faces." I could not find any other remains. Mr. Growse has described this sculpture as the base of a pillar. But, so far as my observation has gone, the Buddhist monoliths are invariably without bases.

In the Gurgaon District I visited Firozpur-Jhirka, Kotila, Indor, Palah, Sohna, Bhonsi, and Gurgaon. Kotila I have already noticed as one of the border places of Alwar. Firozpur-Jhirka is remarkable for its fine springs of water in a cleft of the range of hills, through which a good road has now been made leading to Tejâra. These springs were visited by the Emperor Bâbar. The hills and surrounding country have now been cleared of jungle, and the lands are well cultivated. But in former days, when the whole place was covered with jungle, the turbulent Khânzâdah Chiefs of Mewât invariably retreated to Jhirka (or the "springs"), where they felt themselves to be safe from pursuit. The place was renamed as Firozpur-Jhirka by the brother of Bahâdur Nâher during the reign of Firoz Tughlak, when the two brothers, as I conclude, received grants of Tejâra and Jhirka on becoming Musalmans.

In the Delhi District I visited several buildings that had hitherto escaped observation, as well as many others that required careful measurements. Amongst the latter I may mention the Tomb of Sultân Ghâri at Mahipâlpur, the Tomb of Firoz Shah Tughlak near Begampur, and the Tomb of Mubârak Sayid at Mubârakpur Kotila. Amongst the former are the curious Baithak and Tomb of Kabir-uddin Auliya, near Begumpur, and the Chor-Minâr, or "Thieves-Tower," near the same place. This Tower is circular, with rows of holes on the outside for the reception of the heads of thieves.

At Khairpur I measured the Jâmi Masjid of Sikandar

Lodi, with its fine gateway, copied from the Alai Darwaza of the Kuth Masjid.

This season's tour has been very fruitful in the acquisition of Muhammadan inscriptions, amongst which I may mention the following novelties—

2 of the Emperor Iltitmish from Kâman and Okhala.
1 of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, dated in A.H. 608.
2 of Ala-ud-din Mahammad Khalji—one in highly ornamental Tughra characters, the other dated in A.H. 705.
3 of Kutb-ud-din Mubârak Khalji, dated 718, 718, and 720.
1 of Fironz Tughlak, dated in A.H. 753.
1 of Bahâdur Nâhar of Mewât, dated in A.H. 795 and 803.
1 of Auhad Khan of Bayâna, dated in A.H. 820.
1 of Muhammad Khan Auhadi of Bayâna, dated in A.H. 850.
1 of Dâüd Khan Auhadi of Bayâna, dated A.H. 861.
1 of Sikandar Lodi from Jâmi Masjid at Khairpur, A.H. 900.
1 of Ibrahim Lodi from Tahangarh, dated in A.H. 925.
1 of Bibi Zarina (? mother of Sikandar Lodi) from Dholpur A.H. 942.
1 of Islam Shah from Tahangarh, dated in A.H. 953.
1 of Daulat Khan from Bayâna, dated A.H. 961.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

CONTENTS.

PLATES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT OF A TOUR IN EASTERN RAJPUTANA IN 1882-83.

I.—RÂJPUTÂNA.

AT the present day the name of Râjputâna is restricted to the different states lying between the Jumna and the Narbadâ, of which the Jumna forms the eastern boundary. But previous to the Mahratta conquests the whole of Sindhia's dominions was held by various Râjput chiefs, whose descendants still occupy large portions of their old territories. Up to a very late date, therefore, the country of the Râjputs really extended from the Sutlej on the west to the Chhota Sindh river of Narwar on the east.

Within these boundaries the old states of Râjputâna may be conveniently divided into three large groups, according to their relative positions, as western, eastern, and southern—

I.—Western Râjputâna would thus include the Râthor states of Bikaner and Mârwâr, the Jâdon-Bhatti state of Jesalmer, the Kachwâha states of Jaypur and Shekhâwati, and the Chauhân state of Ajmer.

II.—Eastern Râjputâna would include the present Naruka Kachwâha state of Alwar, the Jât states of Bharatpur and Dholpur, the Jâdon state of Karauli, the British districts of Gurgaon, Mathura, and Agra, and the whole of the northern districts of Gwalior, which still bear the names of their old Râjpût proprietors as Jâdonwati, Tomar-gâr, Kachwâha-gâr, Bhadaur-gâr, and Khichi-wâra.[1]

[1] See Plate I for the map of Eastern Râjputâna.

III.—Southern Râjputâna would include the two Chauhân states of Bûndi and Kota, with the whole of Mewâr and Mâlwa.

With the exception of Eastern Mâlwa, of which Bhilsa forms the centre, the whole of Southern Râjputâna has been placed under Dr. Burgess, the Archæological Surveyor of Western India. I have myself explored the greater part of Eastern Mâlwa from Bhilsa to Chanderi, and from Eran to Bheraghât on the Narbadâ.

For the work of the present season I made over Western Râjputâna to my Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, who, as a photographer, would be able to do justice to the fine old buildings in Mârwâr, Ajmer, and other places.

Eastern Râjputâna I have myself explored, and the result is given in the following report.

In ancient times the whole of the country lying between the Arbali hills of Alwar and the river Jumna was divided between Matsya on the west and Surasena on the east, with Dasârna on the south and south-east border.

Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory, with portions of Jaypur and Bharatpur. Bairât and Mâchâri were both in Matsya-desa; while Kâman, Mathura, and Bayâna were all in Surasena. To the east were the Panchâlas, who held Rohilkhand and Antarbeda, or the Gangetic Doâb.

The Surasenas were Jâdavas, or Jâdovansis, to which race belonged both Krishna and his antagonist Kansa, the king of Mathura. A large portion of their old territory is still in the possession of the Jâdon Râjâ of Karauli.

The Surasenas had a separate dialect, known in ancient times as the Suraseni, just as their descendants, the present people of Braj, have their own dialect of Braj Bhâshạ. At the time of Alexander's invasion the Surasenas worshipped a god whom the Greeks identified with Herakles. Their chief towns were Methora and Kleisoboras, or Mathura and Krishnapura, between which flowed the river Jomanes or Jumna. Kleisoboras, or Krishnapura, I take to be the present suburbs of Mathura surrounding the Katra, between which and

the present city of Mathura either the Jumna itself, or a large branch of it, must once have flowed. This question will be fully examined in my report on Mathura.

The territory of the Surasenas was then only partially cleared, as we learn from the names of the different forests into which it was divided, many of which still survive.[1] Thus, there are—

1.—Mahâ-vana, or Mahâban, the great forest.
2.—Kadamba-vana, or Kâman, the Kadamba forest.
3.—Pilu-vana, or Pilauna, the Pilu forest.
4.—Madhu-vana, or Madhuban, the Mahwa forest.
5.—Khadira-vana, or Khairban, the Khair forest.
6.—Tâla-vana, or Tâlban, the Palm forest.
7.—Vrinda-vana, or Brindâban, the Tulsi forest.

It is needless to mention any more of these names, as the people now reckon at least 36, of which 12 are Mahâ-vanas, or "great forests," and 24 are *Upa-vanas*, or "lesser forests." Most of the names will be found in Mr. Growse's elaborate account of the Mathura district.

In spite of the popular worship of Krishna, the Bûddhists would seem to have obtained a firm footing in the district at an early date, for not only do the Buddhist books speak of Sonavâsi and Upagupta of Mathura as two of their great teachers, during the reign of Asoka, but I have, during my late tour, been fortunate enough to find a colossal statue with an inscription on its pedestal in Asoka characters.

During the rule of the Indo-Scythian Princes in Mathura the Bûddhist religion further appears to have become general over the whole district, as I have found Buddhist remains at Kota and Chaumuha to the north of Mathura, at Anyor to the west, and at Parkham and Mahwan to the south. At the same time the Jainas also had a large establishment on the site of the Kankâli mound, where a few years ago I exhumed many naked Jaina statues, including one described in its inscription as a statue of Vardhamâna, or Mahâvira, the last of the 24 Jaina pontiffs.

[1] See Plate II, in which these *bans*, or forests, are laid down.

Up to this time no early traces of Brâhmanism have been found in the Mathura district, although there can be no doubt that the worship of Vishnu still flourished there. But before the middle of the 7th century, when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited the city, Mathura possessed no less than fifty Brâhmanical temples, and was under the rule of a Sudra king, who worshipped the Devas. At that time Bûddhism had already begun to decline, as there were then only ten monasteries with about 800 monks. During the three following centuries Brâhmanism became the prevailing religion of India, and when Mâhmud of Ghazni captured Mathura, there is no mention of any worship except that of the Brâhmanical gods.

During the long period of 13 centuries between the expeditions of Alexander the Great and Mâhmud of Ghazni, the political changes experienced by Mathura were even greater than the religious ones. The old Yâdava line of princes had first succumbed to the power of the great Maurya dynasty of Magadha, and was afterwards overwhelmed by an irruption of the Indo-Scythians, who, about the beginning of the Christian era, established themselves firmly in Mathura, under the Satraps Râjubul and his son Saudâsa. The rule of these chiefs is attested by both coins and inscriptions found on the spot. During the whole, or the greater part, of the first two centuries of the Christian era, Mathura formed the most eastern province of the great Indo-Scythian empire of Kanishka and his successors Huvishka and Vasu Deva, as proved by their coins and inscriptions exhumed on the spot.

The country of the Surasenas then fell under the powerful sway of the Gupta dynasty, whose coins and inscriptions have also been found at Mathura. In the Purânas the possession of Mathura is assigned to the nine Nâga kings, who would appear to have been contemporary with the Guptas, and who were most probably their tributaries. The dominant power of the Guptas was broken about A.D. 319, on the death of Skanda Gupta, but they continued to rule over Northern India for some centuries later.

At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, in A.D. 635, the

king of Mathura was a Sudra, but only a few centuries later the Jâdon Râjputs are found in full possession of both Bayâna and Mathura, the former under Vijaya Pâla in A.D. 1043, and his son Tahan Pâla, and the latter under Ajaya Pâla in A.D. 1150. Nearly the whole of Eastern Rajputâna therefore formerly belonged to the Yâduvansi, or Jâdon Rajputs. They held one-half of Alwar, with the whole of Bharatpur, Karauli, and Dholpur, besides the British districts of Gurgaon, Mathura, and the greater part of Agra to the west of the Jumna. It seems probable also that they may have held some portions of the present Gwalior territory, lying along the Chambal River opposite Karauli.

As nearly all the places which I visited during my last tour lay within the limits which I have assigned to Eastern Râjputâna, some account of the principal races who have held these countries for about three thousand years seems to be necessary. These are the Lunar Yâduvansis and the Solar Nikumbhas in ancient times, and in later days the Khânzâdahs and the Meos.

II.—THE YÂDUVANSIS.

The only Hindû descendants of the Yâduvansis at the present day are the Jâdons of the small state of Karauli, to the west of the Chambal, and the Jâdons of Sabalgarh, or Jâdonvati, in the Gwalior territory to the east of that river. But the Musalmâns of acknowledged Jâdon descent form a very large portion of the population of Eastern Râjputâna, from Sohna and Alwar on the west to the Chambal on the east, and from the banks of the Jumna to Karauli and Sabalgarh on the south. These Jâdon Musalmâns are now known as the Khânzâdahs and Meus or Meos, of whom I will presently give some account.

The Yâduvansis, of course, claim descent from Krishna, the acknowledged lord of Mathura after the death of Kansa. Their early history, therefore, consists of a number of the popular tales of Krishna derived from the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. But something like real history begins

with Dharma Pâla, the 77th in descent from Krishna according to the lists of the chroniclers. He is the first who bears the name of Pâla, which has descended in the family of the Karauli Râjâs to the present day. His probable date is about 800 A.D. He and his successors are said to have resided in Bayâna. The eleventh in descent from Dharma Pâla is Vijaya Pâla, to whom the building of the fortress of Vijayamandargarh is unanimously attributed. An inscription bearing his name still exists on one of the Hindû pillars of the Masjid in the Bâhari-Bhitarî-Mohalla in the town of Bayâna. It gives the date of Sambat 1100, or A.D. 1043. His son was Tahan Pâla, who built the great Fort of Tahangarh, which stands on the crest of the long sandstone range of hills 14 miles to the south of Bayâna, and the same distance to the east of Hindaun. His date will, therefore, be about Sambat 1130, or A.D. 1073. From him the Khânzâdahs trace their descent. After the occupation of Bayâna by the Muhammadans, the Râjâ Kunwar Pâl retired to Tahangarh, whither he was followed by Muhammad Ghori and his general Kutb-ud-din Aibak. The reigning Râjâ is named Kuwar Pâla by the Muhammadan historians, and this name is found in the list of the bards as the second or third prince after Tahan Pâla. His date, therefore, corresponds very fairly with that of the capture of Tahangarh in A.H. 592, or A.D. 1196.

In Mahâban I obtained an inscription of Râjâ Ajaya Pâla Deva, dated in Sambat 1207, or A.D. 1150. In the lists his name follows immediately after that of Kuwar Pâl. He is, therefore, placed as much too late as Kuwar Pâl is too early. By transposing the two their dates would agree exactly with that of the inscription and the Muhammadan historian.

On the capture of Tahangarh the Jâdon Râjâ retired to Karauli, and when hard-pressed by the Muhammadans he retreated across the Chambal to the jungles of Sabalgarh, which the family succeeded in adding to their territories under the name of Jâdonvati, which that district still bears. Eventually the Râjâ returned to Karauli, where his descendant still reigns.

The names in the two following lists are derived from the bards' chronicles; the first from the books of Mûkji, the famous bard of the Khichi Chauhâns, and the second from those of the Bayâna Bhâts. They agree fairly well, and are, I believe, quite as trustworthy as any lists derived from similar sources. It is probable that several names have been omitted, as the average length of reign of the recorded names is nearly 23 years. Vijaya Pâla, the 12th Râjâ in the above list, was reigning in Sambat 1100, or A.D. 1043, and Hari Pâla, the 47th king, died in 1850, shortly afterwards. Thirty-six kings thus reigned for about 850 years, or nearly 23 years each. This is, of course, possible, as the mean length of an Indian *generation* is about 25 years. But as the mean length of an Indian *reign* is not more than 15 or 16 years, I think it probable that several names may have dropped out. In the following list the approximate dates only are entered, as calculated at the average of 22 years per reign, with some slight variations in the earlier reigns to suit the known dates :—

Yâduvansi Râjâs of Bayâna and Karauli.

	Approximate date.	Mûkji's List.	Bayâna Bhât's List.
	A.D.		
		Dharma Pâla.	
		Singha Pâla.	
		Jaga Pâla.	
		Nara Pâla Deva.	
		Sangrâma Pâla.	
		Kuntha Pâla.	
		Bhauma Pâla.	
		Sûcha Pâla.	
		Pûcha Pâla.	
		Virama Pâla.	
		Jaita Pâla.	
1	1030	VIJAYA PALA.	VIJAYA PALA.
2	1060	TAHAN PALA.	TAHAN PALA.
3	1090	Dharma Pâla.	Kshiti Pâla.
4	1120	KUNWAR PALA.	Dharma Pâla.
5	1150	AJAYA PALA.	KUNWAR PALA.
6	1180	Hari Pâla.	AJAYA PALA
7	1196	Soha Pâla.	Hira Pâla,
8	1220	Ananga Pâla.	Sohan Pâla.
9	1242	Prithi Pâla.	
10	1264	Râjâ Pâla.	
11	1286	Treloka Pâla.	

Yáduvansi Rájás of Bayána and Karauli—continued.

	Approximate date.	Magre's List.	Bayana Bhât's List.
	A.D.		
12	1308	Vipala Pâla.	
13	1330	Asala Pâla.	
14	1352	Gugola Pâla.	
15	1374	Arjuna Pâla.	
16	1396	Vikrâmajit Pâla.	
17	1418	Abhay Chand Pâla.	
18	1440	Prithirâj Pâla.	
19	14[illegible]	Chandrasena Pâla.	
20	1484	Bhârati Chand.	
21	1506	Gopâl Dâs.	
22	1528	Dwarka Dâs.	
23	1550	Mukand Dâs.	
24	1572	Juga Pâla.	
25	1594	Tulsi Pâla.	
26	1616	Dharma Pâla.	
27	1638	Ratna Pâla.	
28	1660	Arti Pâla.	
29	1682	Ajaya Pâla.	
30	1704	Râche Pâla.	
31	1726	Sujâdhar Pâla.	
32	1748	Kunwar Pâla.	
33	1770	Sri Gopâl.	
34	1792	Mânik Pâla.	
35	1814	Amola Pâla.	
36	1836	Hari Pâla.	
37	1856	Madhu Pâla.	
38	1879	Arjun Pâla.	

No. 36 was reigning in 1850.
No. 37 was reigning throughout the mutiny.

III.—THE NIKUMBHAS.

But there was another race in Northern Râjputâna as ancient and as famous as the Lunar Yâdavas. This was the solar race of the Nikumbhas, the kings of Ayodhya, from which sprang Mândhâtri, Sagara, Bhâgiratha, and Râma. Kuvalayâswa, the great-grandfather of Nikumbha, having conquered the demon Dhundhu, acquired the title of Dhundhumâra, or "Slayer of Dhundhu," and gave his name to the country which is now known as Dhundhâr, or Jaypur. Here his descendants remained under the name of Nikumbhas, and to them is attributed the foundation of most of the old forts and cities in Alwar and Northern Jaypur. Under Mândhâtri and Sagara they came into collision with the Haihayas and Tâlajangas on the Narbada, where a branch of their race still held terri-

tory in the thirteenth century. Two inscriptions have been found in Khândes, one dated in Saka 1075, or A.D. 1153, and the other in Saka 1128, or A.D. 1216.[1] In the latter the reigning king is said to be of the great solar race, from which "the king Nikumbha, best of princes, sprang; in whose line Mândhâta was famous, as well as Sagara, Bhâgiratha, and others." In the former the reigning prince is said to be "celebrated in the race—the illustrious solar race in which the Nikumbha was born—whose descendant was Râma."

"Of this race (as Tod[2] says), to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mândalgarh prior to the Gahlots," that is, they preceded the Sisodiyas in Mewâr. The foundation of Alwar and Indor of Mewât is attributed to them, and the ruined city of Abhaner, near Alwar, is said to have been their capital.

From these data it would seem that the Nikumbhas were amongst the earliest Aryan settlers in Râjputâna. During the lapse of many centuries they lost their central provinces, and at the time of the Muhammadan conquest only the two outlying districts of Khândes on the south and Alwar on the north remained to them. The power of the northern Nikumbhas of Alwar is said to have been destroyed by Alâwal Khân, the father or predecessor of Hasan Khân, Khânzâdah, before the death of Bahlol in A.H. 894, or A.D. 1488.[3]

The name of Nikumbha has been supplanted in Northern India by that of Raghuvansa, or "descendant of Raghu," one of the ancestors of Dasaratha and Râma. According to the Purânas Raghu was the grandfather of Dasaratha; but according to Valmiki he lived thirteen generations before Dasaratha.

The legend of the demon Dhundhu and his defeat by Kuvalâyâswa "is told in much more detail in the Vayu and Brahma Purânas. Dhundhu hid himself beneath a sea of sand,

[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, p. 41, and Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. I, p. 417.

[2] Tod's Râjasthân, Vol. I, p. 107.

[3] Major Powlett in Râjputâna Gazetteer, Vol. III, pp. 276-77.

which Kuvalâyâswa and his sons dug up, undeterred by the flames which checked their progress, and finally destroyed most of them."[1] Wilson thinks that "the legend originates, probably, in the occurrence of some physical phenomenon, as an earthquake or volcano." In my report on Jaypur or Dhundhâr,[2] I have described the position of Dhundu's cave at Gatta, near Jaypur, and I have suggested that the phenomenon may perhaps be attributed to the clouds of dust which the wind raises from the vast sandy plains on both banks of the Dhundhu river. The Nikumbhas who settled in this region retained their early tribal name, while their brethren of Ayodhya assumed the name of Râghuvansis.

IV.—THE KHÂNZÂDAHS.

The *Khânzâdahs*, who for several centuries were the rulers of Mewât, claim descent from the Jâdon Râjâ Tahan Pâla. When Muhammad Ghori captured Tahangarh many of the Jâdon families dispersed and settled wherever they could find a home. One chief, named Tej Pâla, found refuge with a descendant of Susarmajit, the Râjâ of Sarhata, and after a time founded Tejâra. His palace is still pointed out in Mohalla Mirdhon of Tejâra. Râjâ Bând Pâl, the son of Râjâ Tahan Pâl, is said to have emigrated in Samvat 1173, or A.D. 1116, and to have taken refuge in the hills near Kâman. His son was Ainti Pâla, whose son was Adhân Pâl, whose son was Insarâj, who had acquired Sarhata, near Tejâra. Insarâj had five sons, of whom the eldest, Lâkhan Pâl, was the founder of the great family of the Khânzâdahs, while the other four sons are said to have become the founders of the Jâdon branches of the *Mevs* or *Meos*.

Lâkhan Pâl had two sons, Sambhar Pâl and Sopar Pâl, both of whom became Muhammadans. The former took the name of Bahâdur Khân and held *Sarhata* (only 4 miles to the east of Tejâra), while the latter took the name of Chajju Khân, and obtained *Jhirka*. From these two brothers

[1] Vishnu Purâna, Hall's edition, Vol. III, p. 264.
[2] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 251.

are descended all the families who lay claim to the title of Khânzâdah. Why they became Muhammadans has not been recorded. It is a common belief that they changed their religion to save their lives; and knowing the plundering habits of the Mewâtis and their general turbulence, the belief is perhaps well founded. I think, however, that the two brothers may have embraced the Muhammadan religion for the purpose of regaining their estates of Sarhata and Jhirka, which had been annexed to Delhi by Feroz Tughlak. The fact that the name of Jhirka was then changed to Firozpur seems to point to this conclusion, which is rendered almost certain by the following entry in Firoz Shâh's autobiography:[1]

"I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and *became a Musalman should be exempt from the Jezia, or poll tax.* Information of this came to the ears of the people, and *great numbers* of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the *Jezia,* and were *favoured with presents and honours.*"

Coupling this statement, made by Firoz Shâh himself, with the fact that *Jhirka* was then named *Firozpur Jhirka,* I think there can be little doubt that the two brothers became Musalmans partly perhaps for the sake of securing possession of their lands, but partly also for the sake of escaping punishment.

During the last two centuries, since the territory of Mewât has fallen into the hands of the Hindus of Alwar and Bharatpur, it has become the fashion to doubt the Jâdon descent of the Khânzâdahs, and to suggest that the title is derived from *Khânahzâdah,* "a slave." But the term is *Khânzâdah,* the "offspring of a Khân," and not Khânahzâdah, "the offspring of the house" *i.e.,* a slave. The fact is that both brothers received the title of Khân on their conversion to Islâm, and therefore their descendants became Khânzâdahs. But their claim to royal descent from the

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p. 386.

Hindu Râjâs of the country is too well attested to be shaken by the mere guesses of their enemies. The following statements of three different authors seem to me to be quite sufficient to establish the royal descent of the Khânzâdahs:—

1. The Emperor Baber, speaking of Hasan Khân of Mewât, who was one of his opponents at the great battle of Khânwa, says that he "had received the government of Mewât from his ancestors, who had governed it in uninterrupted succession for nearly 200 years."[1]

2. Ahmad Yâdgâr, in his Târikh-i-Salatin Afâghana, says, "Hasan Khan was a man of *royal descent* from several generations, and his family had possessed *regal power* until the reign of Firoz Shâh." This book was written between the years 980 and 1000 A.H., during the latter part of the reign of Akbar.[2]

3. Abul Fazl, in the 4th Book of his Ain-i-Akbari, says that "the Khânzâdahs were chiefly converted Januha Râjputs."[3]

The period of nearly 200 years mentioned by Baber can only refer to the time during which the family of the Khânzâdahs had held the government of Mewât after their conversion to Muhammadanism, as A.H. 932, the date of the battle of Khânwa, less 175 years, will only reach back to A.H. 757 during the reign of Firoz Shâh, before whose reign the family had not been converted. But the statement of Ahmad Yâdgâr clearly refers to the earlier history of the family, when they possessed *regal* power, that is, while they were still Hindû Râjâs.

During this earlier period, the Hindu ancestors of the Khânzâdahs seem to have been almost continuously engaged in contests with the Musalmân kings of Delhi. We have nothing but the accounts of the Muhammadan historians for the two centuries which intervened between the first conquest of Northern India by Muhammad-bin-Sam, in A.H. 589, and the first appearance of the Khânzâdahs under Bahâdur Khân Nâhar in A.H. 789. It is highly amusing to read the com-

[1] Baber's Memoirs, pp. 368-69.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. V, p. 35.
[3] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 334. Note.

placent manner in which the historian brands the Mewâtis as "Knaves, Hindus, thieves, and highway robbers," in happy forgetfulness that the Muhammadans themselves had begun the plundering.[1]

During the first half of the 7th century of the Hijra nothing is heard of the Mewâtis. There can be no doubt, however, that their country had been overrun by Iltitmish in A.H., 607-32 as the great Masjid of Chaunsat-Khamba, or the "sixty-four Pillars," at Kâman was built during his reign out of Hindu materials, the pillars alone numbering 200. During the weak reigns of his successors Mewât was left undisturbed; but in A.H. 654, or A.D. 1256, when the rebel Kutlugh Khân sought refuge in Mewât with the Rânâ Ran Pâl (or Raipâl, or Depâl), Ulugh Khan, the active minister of Mâhmud Shah, invaded the country and forced the rebel to fly. In A.H. 658, Ulugh Khan (afterwards the Emperor Balban) again invaded Mewât, and captured the leader of the rebels named *Malkah* (perhaps Mangala), besides thousands of others, who were carried to Delhi and put to death with great cruelty near Hauz Râni in front of the Badâun Gate of the city. During these campaigns Ulugh Khan captured the capital of Mewât, named *Santur*, or Satur, and another city named *Salmur*, to which the Muhammadans had never penetrated before. The former place I believe to be Indor, a name which is variously corrupted in the Persian characters to *Hindwari*, *Andra*, and *Indwâr*. Salmur can only be *Alwar*, the original name of which is supposed to be *Arbalpur*, or "the city of the *Arbali* hills."

The Rânâ Depâl (or Ran Pâl or Raipâl) is probably the *Ainti Pâl* of the chronicles written in Persian characters, as I take the first syllable *Ain* to represent *Râm*, and the second syllable *ti* to represent *De*, or Deva. The genealogy of the Hindu ancestors of the Khânzâdahs will then stand as follows:—

A.D.

1040—Vijaya Pâl, founded Vijayamandargarh.
1070—Tahan Pâl, founded Tahangarh.

[1] Raverty's Tabakat-i Nasiri, p. 852.

A.D.
1216—Band Pâl, fled and founded Ajângarh.
1240—Ainti Pâl.
1270—Adhân Pâl, founded Kaltûjpur in Tejâra.
1300—Insarâj reigned at Sarhata.
1330—Lâkhan Pâl (his two sons became Musalmans).
1360—Sâmbhar Pâl (became Bahâdur Khân, in Sarhata,) and Sopar Pâl (became Chajju Khan, in Jhirka).

I have already mentioned my belief that the name of Jhirka was changed to Firozpur during the reign of Firoz Shâh, after the conversion of the two brothers. In corroboration of this view I find the following statement in the Pan jâb Gazetteer: "It is said that the emperor Firoz Shâh cantoned a force here [at Jhirka-Firozpur] for the control and subjection of the hill tribes."[1]

I have been disappointed in not finding any mention of Mewât during the long reign of Firoz Shâh himself, which covers the very period when the mass of the people of Mewât, both Khânzâdahs and Meos, are said to have become Musalmans. That these conversions were not unattended with persecution we may gather from the following accounts written by Firoz himself of the way in which he suppressed the idol-worship of the Hindûs in three different places:[2]

"The Hindûs and idol-worshippers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i-zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll-tax, *Jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoy security. These people now erected new idol temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet, which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisements, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Malûh there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindûs were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed idol-worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bazár* people

[1] Panjab Gazetteer, Art. "Gurgaon," p. 52.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p. 380.

took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods. Some graceless Musalmans, thinking only of their own gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears, my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islâm. On the day of assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and prompters of these abominations should be put to death. I forbad the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindûs in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques. I founded two flourishing towns (*kasba*), one called Tughlikpur, and the other Sâlârpur. Where infidels and idolaters worshipped idols, Musalmans now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God. Praises of God and the summons to prayer are now heard there, and that place, which was formerly the home of infidels, has become the habitation of the faithful, who there repeat their creed and offer up their praises to God.

"Information was brought to me that some Hindûs had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Sâlihpur, and were performing worship to their idol. I sent some persons there to destroy the idol temple, and to put a stop to their pernicious incitements to error.

"Some Hindûs had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Kohâna, and the idolaters used to assemble there and perform their idolatrous rites. These people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restrained by threats and punishments, as a warning to all men that no *Zimmi* could follow such wicked practices in a Musalman country."

(*A*) Bahâdur Khân, or Bahâdur Nâhar, as he is more commonly called, the founder of the ruling family of the Khânzâdahs of Mewât, is one of the most prominent figures in Delhi history for about a dozen years just before and after the invasion of Timur. He is said to have received the title of *Nâhar*, or "Tiger," from Firoz Shâh, because he had killed a tiger single-handed. His usual residence seems to have been at Kotila, a fort of difficult access on the crest of the high range of hills about 60 miles to the south of Firozâbâd, just outside the south gate of the modern city of Delhi or Shâhjahânâbâd. The town stands at the east foot of the hill,

and is covered towards the east by a large lake called Dahand or Dahar.

Bahâdur's first appearance was in A.H. 791, or A.D. 1389, when he suddenly took possession of Firozâbâd, and held it until joined by Prince Abubakr, when he succeeded in driving the reigning king Muhammad Shâh out of Delhi and in placing Abubakr on the throne. Muhammad afterwards recovered Delhi, and Abubakr took refuge with Bahâdur in Mewât. In A.H. 793, or A.D. 1389, Muhammad invaded Mewât, and defeated the joint forces of Abubakr and Bahâdur. Both rebels then surrendered themselves, when the Prince was imprisoned, while Bahâdur was graciously received and dismissed with a robe of honour.[1] In A.H 795, or A.D. 1391, Bahâdur plundered the country right up to the gate of the city of (old) Delhi at Mahroli. Muhammad immediately invaded Mewât and captured Kotila; but Bahâdur succeeded in escaping to Jhirka-Firozpur. There still exists a record of this invasion in the inscription which is placed over the entrance gateway to the Jâmi Masjid at Kotila. It is dated in A.H. 795, and gives the names of both Muhammad and Bahâdur Khân. In the court of the Masjid there is a fine tomb, which is said to be that of Bahâdur Nâhar himself. The work was completed in A.H. 803, as recorded at the end of the inscription, which I believe to be the date of Bahâdur Nâhar's death. There is a tradition that Bahâdur Nâhar was assassinated by his Hindû father-in-law, the Râna Jâmuwâs, because he had forsaken his religion. Malik Alâuddin of Tejâra, who is called the head of the family, then attacked the Hindû Râna and killed him. There is a tomb at Tejâra, near the tahsili, which is said to be that of Alâuddin Khânzâdah, or Alâuddin Firoz, the son of Bahâdur Nâhar. The large town of Bahâdurpur, about 14 miles to the north-east of Alwar, is said to have been founded by Bahâdur Nâhar.

Muhammad Shâh died in A.H. 796, and was succeeded by his son Mahmud, who in the following year was besieged

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, pp. 31, 25.

in old Delhi by the troops of Nusrat Shâh, who had got possession of Firozâbâd. Nusrat was backed by Shihâb Nâhar (E), while Bahâdur Nâhar held the city of old Delhi for Mahmud.[1]

In A.H. 801, just before the invasion of Timur, Shihâb Nâhar of Mewât, who had been created a Khân, joined Nusrat Shâh with ten elephants, and assisted in the capture of Delhi; but he was soon after killed in a night attack.

On Timur's arrival at Delhi he sent an embassy to Bahâdur Nâhar at the city of Kotila. Bahâdur replied that he was one of the insignificant servants "of the Amir, and would proceed to his court to wait upon him." He also sent as a tribute "two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly." As these birds, which were most probably cockatoos, are said to have belonged to Sultân Tughlak Shah, they must have been at least 75 years old. On the following day Bahâdur Nâhar arrived with his eldest son, named Kalnâsh, to pay their respects. Timûr says that he received them with "due courtesy," and he was evidently influenced in their favour by the present of the two parrots, as he states that he looked upon them as "the best of their gifts."[2]

I can find no further mention of Bahâdur Khân, whom I suppose to have died in A.H. 803. In that year Mubârak Khân (B), son of Bahâdur, joined Ikbâl Khân the virtual ruler of Delhi, under the weak king Mâhmud Shâh. On the march towards Kanauj, Ikbâl, becoming suspicious of Mubârak, put him to death.

In A.H. 808, or A.D. 1405, after the death of Ikbâl Khân, Iklîm Khân Bahâdur Nâhar (*C*) brought two elephants as an offering to Sultan Mâhmud. In A.H. 814, or A.D. 1411, Khizr Khan, the powerful governor of the Panjâb, invaded Mewât. He first plundered the town of Narnol, which was in the possession of Iklîm Khân Bahâdur Nâhar, and then invaded Mewât, where he plundered the towns of Tejâra, Saratha, Khârol, and other places. Again, in A.H. 816=A.D. 1413, Khizr Khân passed through Mewât, when Jalâl

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 31.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p. 449.

Khân (*G*), nephew of Iklîm Khân Bahâdur Nâhar, came to wait upon him. Lastly, in A.H. 824=A.D. 1421, Khizr, who had now become king of Delhi, marched into Mewât, and besieged Bahâdur Nâhar (*i.e.*, Iklîm Khân) in Kotila. The fort was captured, but the garrison escaped to the hills. Iklîm Khân Bahâdur Nâhar II probably died in A H. 825.[1] There are several villages in the districts of Alwar and Gurgaon which still preserve the name of Iklîm Khân.

In A.H. 829=A.D. 1425, Jalla and Kaddu (or Jalâl (*G*) and Kadr (*F*), grandsons of Bahâdur Nâhar) took up a position in the mountains of Indor. On being driven out they retired to the hills of Alwar, but shortly afterwards they surrendered themselves and were pardoned. In A.H. 831, or A.D. 1428, Mubârak Shâh seized Kaddu (*F*), and put him to death privately for having joined Ibrâhim Shâh Sharki, during his recent invasion of the Delhi territory. His brothers, Jalâl Khân (*G*), Ahmad Khan (*H*), and Malik Fakharddin (*J*) retired to Alwar, where they were besieged by the royal troops. They made so stout a defence that peace was granted on payment of arrears of tribute. In A.H. 832 = A D. 1428, Mubârak proceeded to Mewât to the palace of Indor, and rested there, when Jalâl Khân gave in and paid the usual tribute. Again, in A.H. 836, or A.D. 1432, Mubârak once more invaded Mewât, and reached the town of Taora (9 miles to north of Indor). Jalâl shut himself up in the fort of Indor, which was said to be strongest in Mewât. But Jalâl set fire to the palace and fled to Kotila, while Mubârak marched to Tejâra. Jalâl afterwards submitted and paid the usual tribute.

I can find no further mention of Jalâl, who must have died before the accession of Bahlol Shâh in A.H. 850, or A.D. 1446. There are some well-executed copper coins of a person calling himself Fateh-ud-duniya-wa-ud-dîn Jalâl Shâh, which may perhaps belong to him. They are dated in the years 841, 842, 843. Jalâl is the great hero of the Khânzâdahs, who are never tired of relating his gallant deeds, of which, perhaps,

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, pp. 41, 45, 53.

the most surprising was the asserted capture of Amber, the stronghold of the Kachwâha Râjâs, and the carrying away of one of its gates to Indor, where it is still to be seen! Jalâl probably died about A.H. 845, and was succeeded by his brother Ahmad.

In A.H. 850, or A.D. 1447, before the accession of Bahlol Lodi to the throne of Delhi, Mahroli and the country within "7 kos of Delhi was in the hands of Ahmed Khân Mewâti (*H*)."[1] In A.H. 856, or A.D. 1452, Bahlol invaded Mewât and forced Ahmad Khan to give up seven parganahs, including Tejâra, which were bestowed on Târtâr Khân, who still held them on the accession of Sikandar Lodi in A.H. 894, or A.D. 1488. Ahmad Khân was allowed to retain the rest of Mewât as a tributary. As nothing more is related of him, it is possible that he continued to rule in peace at Kotila until about A.H. 870, or A.D. 1466. He certainly lived beyond A.H. 863, as he joined Husen Shâh Sharki on his advance against Delhi, which took place in the early part of his reign.

Of the next Khânzâdah chief, named Adil Khan (*K*), I can only find that he was the father of Hasan Khan, the opponent of Bâber.[2] It is not certain, therefore, that he was the son of Ahmad Khân, but, as we know that Hasan Khân was the descendant of the Khânzâdah chiefs, the relationship has a very strong probability.

Of Hasan Khân we have the most authentic information from the Emperor Baber.[3] He describes Mewât as yielding a revenue of three or four krors (equal to from £75,000 to 100,000) "Hasan Khân," he says,—

"had received government of that country from his ancestors, who had governed it, in uninterrupted succession, for nearly 200 years. They had yielded an imperfect kind of submission to the Sultâns of Delhi. The Sultâns of Hind, whether from the extent of their territories, from want of opportunity, or from obstacles opposed by the mountainous nature of the country, had never subdued Mewât. They had never been able to reduce it to order, and were content to receive such a degree of obedience as was tendered to them. After

[1] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 541.
[2] Baber's Memoirs, in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 346.
[3] Baber's Memoirs by Leydon and Erskine, pp. 368-69.

my conquest of Hind, following the example of former Sultâns, I also had shown Hasan Khân distinguished marks of favour. Yet this ungrateful man, whose affections lay all on the side of the Pagans, this infidel, regardless of my favours, and without any sense of the kindness and distinction with which he had been treated, was the grand prompter and leader of all the commotions and rebellions that ensued, as has been related. The plan for marching into the country of the Pagans having been abandoned, I resolved on the reduction of Mewât. I advanced four marches, and, after the fifth, encamped six kos from the fort of Alwar, which was the seat of Government, on the banks of the river Manisni. Hasan Khân's ancestors had made their capital at Tejâra."[1]

Here we see that Hasan Khân himself did not possess Tejâra, which had been wrested from the Khânzâdahs by Bahlol Lodi. Tartar Khân, who was still holding Tejâra on the accession of Sikandar Lodi in A.H. 894, or A.D. 1488, must have died before A.H. 900, or A.D. 1494, in which year Sikandar gave the government of Tejâra to his full-brother Ala-ud-din Alam Shâh. As Alam Shâh joined Baber in A.H. 932, Hasan Khân would naturally take the opposite side, in the hope of regaining possession of the old Khânzâdah territory, should the Mughals be defeated. But he was himself killed in the fatal battle of Khânwa by a matchlock shot.[2]

After the battle Baber generously received Nâhar Khân, the son of Hasan Khân, into favour, and gave him a parganah of several lakhs for his support. But the territory of Mewât he annexed to his own kingdom of Delhi, giving Tejâra to Sultân and Alwar to Tardî Khân. It is probable, as Erskine notes, that Nâhar Khân had expected to be continued in the principality of his forefathers. It is certain that he was disappointed, as he soon after managed to escape from the Emperor's camp. As nothing more is related about him, he must either have submitted or have died.

The next notice that I have found about Mewât is the appointment of Hindâl Mirza to the government of the province on the accession of Humâyun in A.H. 937, or A.D. 1530. This post he still held in A.H. 946, or A.D. 1539, when

[1] Baber's Memoirs, p. 369. [2] Baber's Memoirs, p. 367.

Kâmrân obtained possession of Agra and Delhi. After the decisive battle of Kanauj in the following year, Hindâl again proceeded to Alwar, which was his jâgir, but was soon obliged to fly on the advance of Sher Shâh.[1]

On the accession of Islâm Shâh in A.H. 952—A.D. 1545, Mewât was held in jâgir by Khawâs Khân, the famous general of Sher Shâh, and there Adil Khân, the elder brother of Islâm, took refuge on discovering the king's treachery Khawâs Khân went into rebellion, and the royal troops sent against him were defeated at Firozpur Jhirka,[2] which was probably the head-quarters of Khawâs Khân. During Islâm's reign Mewât was attached to Delhi, as there is an inscription fixed in the wall of the Salim Sâgar tank in the fort of Alwar by Chand Kâzi, who was the governor of the fort, Hâkim Kilah, under Islâm Shâh in A.H. 954.

On the return of Humâyun in A.H. 962 the country of Mewât was bestowed on Tardi Beg Khân, but Erskine remarks that "it was not yet conquered."[3] At the same time he must have been joined by Jamâl Khân Khânzâdah, as Blochmann records that—

"in A.H. 961 (or 962), when Humâyun returned to India, he enjoined his nobles to enter into matrimonial alliances with the zamindârs of the country, and, after marrying the elder daughter of Jamâl Khân, he asked Bairâm Khân to marry the younger one."[4]

Jamâl Khân was the nephew of Hasan Khân of Mewât; but it is not stated what lands he held. The issue of Bairâm's marriage was the celebrated Mirza Abdur-rahim, Khân Khânân, who was born in A.H. 964, and died in 1032.

In A.H. 963, shortly after Akbar's accession, Mewât was permanently annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi, and was afterwards formed into the two Sirkars of Alwar and Tejâra, which formed part of the Subah of Agra.

Under the strong rule of Akbar and his successors the power of the Khânzâdahs gradually declined; and at present there is not a single jâgir, or rent-free, village held by a

[1] Erskine's Memoirs of Humâyun, Vol. II, p. 206-195.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 484.
[3] Erskine's Memoirs of Humâyun II 536.
[4] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, p. 334.

Khânzâdah in the Alwar state. Some few still remain in Nuh and Sohna of the Gurgaon district. Major Powlett, who conducted the revenue settlement of the Alwar states, notes the following traces of Hindûism still clinging to the Khânzâdah families:[1]

1. Brâhmans take part in their marriage contracts.
2. They observe some Hindû marriage ceremonies.
3. Their women do not work in the fields.

The turbulence of the Mewâtis has always been proverbial. The last example of this violent spirit was shown by Shamsuddin Khân, the Jâgirdar of Firozpur Jhirka, who, in 1836, employed two of his servants to murder Mr. Fraser, the Governor General's Agent at Delhi. The jâgir had been conferred on his father Ahmed Baksh Khan in 1803 by Lord Lake. Shamsuddin wished to deprive his younger brother of his proper share of the estate, which Mr. Fraser opposed. He then employed his servants to murder Mr. Fraser, in the hope that his successor might be more favourable to his view. He was executed at Delhi.

V.—THE MEVS, OR MEOS.

The *Mevs*, or *Meos*, form the bulk of the population of *Mewât*. Abul Fazl writes the name *Mewrah*, and says that they are natives of Mewât, and that they were famous as runners.[2] One thousand of them were employed by Akbar as post-carriers, and were called *Dâk-Mewrahs*. They claim to be of Rajpût origin, and to have been converted to Muhammadanism by *Shahid Sâlâr*, of Bahraich. That they are of Hindû origin is quite certain, as the claim is universally acknowledged, and because they still retain a number of Hindû customs. The following peculiarities are recorded by Major Powlett, who, as Settlement Officer of the Alwar state, enjoyed singular opportunities for observation:—

1.—A Meo does not marry a woman of his own Pâl.
2.—Brâhmans take part in the ceremonies preceding.

3.—They often keep Brâhmans to write the marriage proposals (*pila--chitti*).
4.—They take Hindû names, such as Singh.
5.—At new moon Meos cease labour, like Ahirs and Gujars.
6.—For a new well Meos build a chabutra to Bhairon or Hanuman.
7.—The men wear a *dhoti* and a kamli, not paijâmas.
8.—The women tattoo themselves, a practice disapproved by Musalmâns.
9.—They observe the Holi as a season of rough play.

The religion of the Meos is not very strict, as they seldom have any mosque, only eight having been found by Major Powlett in 52 Meo villages. They still reverence the local divinities of the Hindus, such as *Bhaiya*, a platform with white stones, who is also called *Bhumia*, and *Chahûnd*, or *Khera Deo*. Their chief Muhammadan display is the worship of the *Sâlâr*, or banner of Sâlâr Masâud, which is held in every Meo village at the Shab-i-Barât.

The Meos are divided into twelve pâls, or great clans, and forty gôts, or lesser clans. It is a curious fact that the Minas also have twelve great clans, of which six have the same names as those of the Meos. This has naturally induced Major Powlett and others to suppose that the two races may have had a common origin. They seem never to have had any chiefs of their own, but to have been at first subject to the Jâdon Râjâs of Surasena, and afterwards to the Muhammadan Khânzâdahs of Kotila and Tejâra. I conclude, therefore, that as they have always formed the bulk of the population of Mewât, they must have had some sort of family connection with the Jâdon Râjputs and their descendants, the Khânzâdah Musalmâns. In fact nearly one-half of their chief clans, or five pâls out of twelve, claim descent from Jâdon ancestors. The following list gives the names of their alleged progenitors.—

5 *Jâdon* clans
1. Chhirkilât.
2. Dâlat.
3. Demrôt.
4. Nai.
5. Pundelôt.

5 *Tomar* clans . . 1. Balôt.
2. Dar[illegible]âr.
3. Kalesa.
4. Lundâvat.
5. Rattawat.
1 *Kachhwâha* clan 1. Dingâl.
1 *Bargujar* clan 1. Singâl.

12 clans
and a 13th clan named Palâkra.

The forty gôts also claim a Râjput origin, as, for instance, the Parihâr Mevs of five villages around the old town of Bâs to the north of Alwar. Many of these claims may, perhaps, be true on the father's side. But whatever may be their origin, the Mevs form the most important class of the population of Mewât, which includes the eastern half of the Alwar state, the northern half of the Bharatpur state, and the southern half of the British district of Gurgaon, with a part of Mathura. They are most numerous in the Gurgaon district adjoining Alwar, and least numerous in Bharatpur, where they come in contact with the Minas on the south. According to the census returns the following are the numbers of the Meos of Mewât :—

In Gurgaon . . .	114,693
Alwar	97,000
Bharatpur . . .	47,476
TOTAL .	259,169

or upwards of 260,000, including those in Mathura. But it is their relative numbers with regard to the other classes of the population that gives them their chief importance Thus, in Gurgaon they form one-sixth, in Alwar one-eighth, and in Bharatpur one-sixteenth of the whole population. Their original occupation of the Alwar territory is more distinctly shown by the number of their landed proprietorships, as the Meos still form nearly one-third of the whole number of zamindars, although the Meos themselves form only one-sixth of the whole population. At the present day they are all Muhammadans. I believe that their conversion does not

date earlier than the reign of Firoz Tughlak, as before his time the Mewâtis are invariably spoken of as Hindûs and infidels. Many traces of their Hindû origin are still preserved, especially in the ceremonies attending their marriages. But the custom of tattooing, which is common amongst the women, seems to point to a connection with the lower classes of Hindûs, and perhaps also with the aboriginal Minas, rather than to any relationship with the Râjputs. These may, however, have been Râjput on the side of the fathers, while the mothers preserved the customs of the lower races to which they belonged.

Of one of the peculiar customs of the Meos I was in part an actual witness. In rich families, when a man dies, it is the custom for his relatives to give a great feast. Mihrâb Khân, a Meo of the Gorwâl-gôt, and zamindâr of Raoli, 7 miles to the south of Firozpur-Jhirka, died in October 1882. It is usual to celebrate the funeral feast on the fortieth day after the death; but owing to the grand scale on which this feast was planned, the interval was extended to four months. The sons of Mihrâb Khân invited their Meo brethren from all the country round to attend the feast on the 26th and 27th February 1883. I arrived at Raoli on the 28th, but several of my servants had reached Raoli on the previous evening and saw a part of the feast. The eldest son is now a servant of the Alwar state in charge of Naogaon.

The feast is called *Shakarâna*, or the "Sugar Feast," from the quantity of sweetmeats prepared for it. About ten thousand people, both men and women, are said to have attended. Bedsteads were collected from all the villages around, and were set out in front of all the Meos' houses for the accommodation of the guests. The following was the bill of fare—

100 maunds, or 3½ tons of sugar.
200 maunds, or 7 tons of rice.
30 maunds, or 1 ton of ghi.

The sons of Mihrâb Khân gave to the Merâsis, who sang the songs, two camels and one gold mohur, besides clothing and other things. On the 27th one maund and a half of

dâl (split peas) and 8 or 10 maunds of *atta* (bread) were prepared for such of the relatives as still remained. The party broke up on the 28th.

The *Mirâsis* are the bards or singers of the Meos at all their marriages and funerals. At a marriage feast the most popular song is the love story of Daryâ Khân Meo and *Sasi-badani* Mini. The scene of most Meo legends is laid at Ajângarh, an old fort in the hills, only 4 miles to the west of Kâman.

Todar Mall, who was the zamindâr of Ajângarh, used to repeat the following verse :—

> Pânch pahâr ke râjahi, aur pûro tero dall,
> Adhe Akbar Bâdshâh, âdhe Pâhat Todar Mall.

" In the Kingdom of the five hills, with its force complete, half is Akbar Bâdshâh's, half Pâhat Todar Mall's."

This saying was repeated to Akbar, who sent for Todar Mall and demanded why he made himself equal to the Emperor. The Meo replied—" As I am zamindar of the five hills, half the produce belongs to me and half to your Majesty." Akbar was so pleased with his reply that he gave Todar Mall a *Jagir*, with rank in the army. It happened afterwards that Todar Mall was sent on an expedition in company with Bâdâ Rao, Mina. The latter took the Meo to his house, where they drank wine together and became friends. Then Todar Mall said to the Mina—" My wife will shortly give birth to a child :—if a girl, I will give her in marriage to your son; if a boy he will marry your daughter. Todar Mall's wife gave birth to a son, who was named Daryâ Khân, and Bâdâ Rao's wife gave birth to a daughter, who was named *Sasi-badani*, or " moon-like body," or " moon-face."

When the children reached ten years of age Bâdâ Rao sent the *Tikâ* to Daryâ Khân, the son of Todar, and after a year a *Barât*, or marriage party, started from Ajângarh with several hundreds of Meos for the village of Bâdâ Rao. When the bridegroom reached the house, he struck the toran over the door (according to custom) by making his horse leap, for

otherwise, being a boy, he could not have reached it. The marriage ceremony was thus complete; but, as the Minas wished the Meos to eat flesh with them, as well as to drink wine, the Meos pretended that the Emperor of Delhi's troops had attacked their village, and so the whole barât party retired, leaving *Sasi-badani* in her father's house.

When the girl grew older she sent a letter to Daryâ Khân, but it was unfortunately given to Todar Mall, who beat the messenger. A second letter was afterwards safely delivered to Daryâ Khan, who at once mounted his horse and started for the Mina village. As he approached, a woman carrying a basket of cowdung (called *hail*) saw him, and throwing her basket down rushed off at once to *Sasi-badani*, to whom she said—

Beti Bâdâ Rao ki sunyon mhâri ter;
Awat dekho malko men nê adbhar dâri hail.

"O Bâdâ Rao's daughter, listen to my word; "I saw the Malik coming, and threw down my basket of cowdung halfway."

Daryâ Khân was kindly received by his father-in-law, and the two sat down together and drank freely. But when the Mina pressed his son-in-law to eat some *kabâb*, Daryâ Khân struck him a blow on the mouth and knocked out two of his teeth. Then all the Minas drew their swords, and would have killed Daryâ Khân at once, but Bâdâ Rao's son interposed, and took him inside the house to his sister Sasi-badani. At night Daryâ Khân fled with Sasi-badani, and was pursued by the Minas. But he reached his uncle's house in safety, when the Minâs dropped the pursuit.

This story of Daryâ Khan Meo and Sasi-badani Mini is a very popular one, and their song is sung at every new marriage by the mirâsis, or bards. One result of this affair has been the discontinuance of marriages between the Meos and Minas, which previously had been common.

Whatever truth there may be in the above story, the people generally refer to it as the cause of the discontinuance of marriages between the Meos and Minas, which up to that time had been common. The acknowledgment of

previous intermarriages seems to offer rather a strong proof that the Meos must have been a cognate race with the Minas, holding the same social position—higher, perhaps, than the Ahirs and other agricultural classes, but decidedly far below the Rajputs, from whom they claim descent. I am inclined, therefore, to agree with Major Powlett that the Meos and Minas may have had a common origin. I have a suspicion that they may be the descendants of the *Megallæ*, mentioned by Pliny, who dwelt between the Indus and the Jumna, apparently bordering on the Jumna. As the name is spelt Mewarâ, as well as Mev, I think that Akbar must have revived the old form which gives a very near approach to *Megallæ*.

Another song which is equally popular amongst the Meos is the story of Lâli, which is also referred to the time of Akbar. During his reign it is said that an officer named Ahlâd Singh Chauhân was deputed by the Emperor to take charge of Mewât. Some of his soldiers were encamped near a well called Alakh-ka-Kûa at Ajângarh, when a Mewâti woman, named Lâli, wife of Jodh Singh, son of Raybhân, gave birth to a son. On the 6th day (called *chhati* afterwards) she insisted on going to worship at the *Alakh* well according to the custom of Hindû women. Her husband tried to dissuade her, but she was firm, and having dressed herself in her best clothes she was going to the well. As she started, her husband's wife said to her tauntingly "Are you a royal lady that you go now to worship at the well?" on which Lâli replied—

Susar base pahár men, our báp base Páli.
Koa pujún Alakh ko, to nám zád Láli.

"Father-in-law lives on the hill, and father lives at Pâli:
"If I don't worship at Alakh's well, my name's not Lâli."

She then turned to her husband and said :—

Raybhán ke Jodh Singh jági teri tegh.
Koá pujá de Alakh ká natar phir na chariyo sej.

"O Jodh Singh, son of Raybhân, get your sword ready.
"Take me to worship at Alakh's well, or come not to my bed again."

She then went to the well with some other women, all singing, when the Chauhân soldiers began to jeer them. A fight took place between the Meos of Ajângarh and the Chauhân soldiers, in which Jodh Singh and several others were killed.[1]

Lâli returned to her house after worshipping at the well, and then taking a lotâ of water, she ran back to the well to give her husband a drink. She found him lying dead, with his moustaches in disorder, and his teeth exposed, as if gnashing in rage. She then said—

Muchariyân phar-phar karen, hasen batison dant,
Ab dhân dhâpyunahin, merâ barâ jujhâru kanth.

"With flying (flapping) moustaches, and 32 laughing teeth,
"Still not satisfied with fighting, my great hero husband."

The Meos, or Mevs, have always been noted for their turbulence; and this story of Lâli only corroborates the general opinion, for the woman seems to have been quite aware that her going to the well would lead to a feud. During the first centuries of Muhammadan rule the Mewâtis were treated with the most merciless cruelty. They were hunted down like beasts, and massacred in thousands at a time. Thus, in A.H. 658, or A.D. 1260, Ulugh Khân, the minister of Nasiruddin Mâhmud, invaded the Kohpâyah, or hills of Mewât. Then the people of those places who were "knaves, Hindus, thieves, and highway robbers, were *all put to the sword*." One silver tankâ was offered for every head, and two for every prisoner brought in alive. On the return of the army to Delhi the prisoners were taken to the Hauz Râni, outside the Badaun gate of Delhi. There some were thrown under the feet of elephants; others were cut in halves with knives, "one hundred and odd rebels were flayed from head to foot, and at the hand of their skinners they quaffed, in the goblet of their own heads, the sherbet of death." Even the Muhammadan historiam himself admits that such an example of retribution was made that no one had ever heard a tale so terrible. Six years later the same leader, who had then

[1] The Chauhân commander was also killed.

become the Emperor Balban, again invaded Mewât, when he is said to have put 100,000 Mewâtis to the sword.[1]

So common was this style of treatment that it passed into a proverb as the proper way of treating Mewâtis. The saying is attributed to Akbar, but it was probably much older. *Pahle lât, pichhe bât,* which may be shortly translated as "First beat, then treat." Another common form of the saying is—

Dekhi teri Mewât,
Pahle gâli, pichhe bât.
"See what a place is your Mewât,
Where abuse must precede talk."

Some people, however, refer the abuse to the rudeness of the Mewâtis themselves, who are said always to begin their speech with abuse. But this explanation seems much less probable than the other, which is, besides, borne out by a variant version, which gives *Pahle lât, pichhe bât,* or "First kick them, and then talk to them."

The same harsh treatment was continued down to our own times, when the Mahrattas had possession of the country. Under M. Perron's rule it was a common custom to immure the Mewâtis alive between four walls. But, as Buchanan Hamilton says,—

"This system of terror wholly failed, for, notwithstanding the impending tortures that threatened them, the Mewâti outrages continued to increase, and the peaceful part of the community were kept in a state of unceasing alarm and anxiety. In 1807 a correspondence was opened with some of the chiefs by Mr. Seton, then resident at Delhi, and some measures of a mild, conciliatory nature adopted towards the Mewâtis, which, although they did not entirely extinguish, so much repressed, their habits of rapine that we now comparatively hear but little of them."

VI.—MATHURA.

Since I wrote my first account of Mathura in 1861, I have paid several visits to the old city and its neighbourhood, partly for the purpose of seeing the new sculptures and

[1] Raverty's Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, p. 852.

inscriptions, which were exhumed from time to time, and partly with the view of ascertaining the exact site of the ancient city.[1] Since then also Mr. Growse has done much towards settling this important point. During his long residence at Mathura he studied the subject in all its bearings, and to most of his conclusions I give my cordial assent. The following are the principal results of his examination :[2]

1. The oldest city of the aboriginal king Madhu was at Madhupura, now Maholi.
2. The Aryan city, after the defeat of Madhu, was built on the site of the present Katra, with the Bhuteswar Temple as its centre.
3. The Jumna Fort is the last city.

I had already arrived at his second conclusion as to the site of the ancient Aryan city from an examination of the ground, compared with Hwen Thsang's statements as to the relative positions of the different Buddhist monuments. The people also are unanimous in their belief that the Katra was the site of the ancient city.

But the Katra stands in the Kesopura Mahalla of the present day ; and, as there can be little doubt that the great temple of Kesava had stood on this site from a very early date, although often thrown down and as often renewed, I think that *Kesopura* must be the *Klisobora* or *Kaisobora* of Arrian, and the *Clisobora* of Pliny. But if this identification be admitted, it follows that the Jumna, in accordance with their statements, must have flowed under the walls of the Katra, or Kesopura, and between it and the city of Mathura, or Methora, as they both write the name. And this I believe to have been the case. There is, even at the present day, a deep channel immediately under the walls of the Katra, which must once have been either the bed of the Jumna itself, or of some considerable branch of the river. I examined the ground carefully both to the north and the west of the city, with a large-scale map in my hand. I ascended several of

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. I, p. 231; Vol. III, p. 14; and Vol. XVII now in the press.

[2] Growse's Mathura, p. 216.

the principal mounds, and I was able to trace the course of an old channel, from where it leaves the present bed of the river near Jaysinghpur right down to the *Katra*, after passing which it turns to the south-east, and sweeps round the southern end of the city into the Jumna.

This old channel also attracted the attention of Mr. Grouse, who states that—

"A tributary stream, the bed of which is now partly occupied by the Delhi road, did certainly flow past the *Katra*. This being joined at the point, still called the *Sangam*, or "confluence," by another considerable water-course from the opposite direction, fell into the channel now crossed by the Seth's bridge, and so reached the Jumna."[1]

So unmistakeable are the remains of this old channel that they attracted the attention of the French traveller Tavernier in the middle of the 17th century. Speaking of the great temple of Kesava Deva before it was desecrated by Aurangzeb, he describes it as—

"one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India, and the place to which the greatest number of pilgrims was wont to resort. But now there are very few or none, the idolaters having insensibly lost the reverence which they had for that pagod, since the river of *Yemena* (Jumna) that formerly ran by that pagoda has changed its course above half a league from it."[2]

It seems probable, therefore, that the Jumna had not deserted the Katra channel before the time of Hwen Thsang in A.D. 635, as he describes his visit to the monastery of Upagupta at 5 or 6 *li* (about 1 mile) to the east of the capital, without making any mention of the river. I take the monastery of Upagupta to be the present old fort on the bank of the Jumna, which is just about 1 mile to the east of the *Katra*. At that time I suppose the city of Mathura to have been situated on the east, or left, bank of the *Katra* channel of the Jumna, and immediately opposite Kesopura, or Kesobora.

In the beginning of the 5th century Mathura was visited by the pilgrim Fa-Hian, who states that he "crossed the

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 120.

[2] Tavernier's Travels (English translation), Part II, B. 3, ch. 12. See also Plate II of the present volume for a map of Mathura.

Puna (Jabuna or Jumna), on the banks of which there were 20 monasteries, with some 3,000 priests."[1] Unfortunately we do not know by which road he travelled from the Panjâb, whether by the northern route *viâ* Mirat and Koël, or by the southern route *viâ* Delhi. By the former he must have crossed the Jumna twice to reach the present city of Mathura. By the latter he would not have crossed the river at all, unless the city had then been on its eastern or left bank. If, then, he actually crossed the Jumna, the waters of the river must still have flowed down the Katra channel, between Kesopura and Mathura, as in the time of Alexander the Great.

About two months after writing the above discussion, I found the following passage in Abu Rihan's chapter on the Geography of India:[2]

ویر مٹرتین شہر جون افتاده ،

which is thus translated by M. Reinand—

"Mahoura se trouve sur la rive orientale du fleuve Djun."

On turning to the corresponding passage of Rashid-uddin's Persian version, I find the same statement repeated—

مدینة ماهورة بباسدیوهي علي شرق نهر جون ،

which Sir Henry Elliot translates thus:[3]

"This city lies on the eastern bank of the Jumna."

This passage has been completely altered by Dowson,[4] who writes, "The river Jumna lies to the east of this city," (Mathura) without any remark as to the discrepancy; I presume that it must have escaped his notice. Even Elliot himself would seem not to have noticed the importance of his own translation, as, in his remarks on Mâhmud, he says,

[1] Giles's translation of Fa Hian's Travels, p. 28.

[2] Reinaud: Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 82. Arabic Text, p. 100 (French translation).

[3] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians (1st edition), p. 34 of Persian text, and p. 35 of English translation.

[4] Dowson's edition of Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. I, p. 54.

Cross the Jumna from Mahâban to Mathura, and then re-cross it to go to Kanauj."

Utbi, the contemporary historian of Mâhmud, simply says that Mâhmud proceeded from Kulchand's fort (Mahâban) to Maharatu-l-Hind, which all subsequent writers have identified with Mathura. From thence he marched to Kanauj. In neither case does Utbi mention the Jumna, although he had previously noted all the rivers of the Panjâb passed by Mâhmud, and the Jawan (or Jumna) itself before reaching Baran (or Bulandshahr). Ferishta, who copies Utbi pretty closely, also omits any mention of crossing the Jumna. I conclude, therefore, that the statement of Abu Rihan is correct for the time of Mâhmud; and that Rashid-ud-din's Persian version is a mere copy which consequently refers to the same period. At what time the change may have taken place I can find no record.

In my last report I have described the latest discoveries made at Mathura, including the find of a statue of Herakles strangling the Nemæan lion, which was evidently copied from some Grecian model.[1] The sculptures exhumed have been collected together in a small local museum, which, though convenient for comparison, is useless for information, as no record has been kept of the spots where the different objects were found. In the accompanying plate I have given photographs of some of these sculptures, of which the actual find-spots are now unknown.[2]

The largest of these sculptures is unfortunately broken, but enough remains to show that it represents a royal Nâgni or Queen of the Nâgas, attended by five Nâgnis. The figures are nearly life-size, and the sculpture must have occupied some prominent position where it could have been seen on all sides, as the back of it is completely carved with the trunk and branches of a great tree. The style of the tree is similar to that of the back of the group from Kota, which is given in the same plate.[3] The principal figure was canopied by nine

[1] See Vol. XVII, Plate 3.

[2] See Plates III and IV.

[3] See Plate III, upper figures.

snakes' heads, of which only the necks are now left. The Queen's right-hand is raised towards her head, but there is nothing else to show what was her action. The five attendant Nâgnis are naked to below the navel, where a zone of five strings encircles the loins, and supports some drapery, which probably concealed the lower portions of their figures. This is a common device of the old Büddhist sculptors, to avoid the representation of the snaky lower extremities.

From the carefully carved tree on the back of this sculpture, it is certain that the group was intended for some prominent position, where it could be seen on all sides. The two large Bacchanalian groups which were found at Mathura by Colonel Stacy and Mr. Growse, were also intended for similar isolated positions. But they are both hollowed out on the top, as if they were used as altars. The small group of two females from Kota, which I have given in the same plate with the Nâgni group, is likewise hollowed out on the top. But, as the great Nâgni group must have ended in a pyramidal form with the middle attendant figure forming the apex, I cannot even make a guess as to its probable use.

Amongst the sculptures collected at the Mathura Museum, there is one of undoubted Jaina origin, which is believed to have been brought either from the Kankâli mound, or from one of the mounds in that direction. It represents a naked Jaina figure standing on a pedestal with his left hand resting on his hip, and his right hand raised as if in the act of teaching.[2] On each side a human-headed Nâga, with a canopy of seven snakes' hoods, rises from a well with joined hands in adoration of the Jaina saint. Above, are five musical instruments, belonging to the heavenly Dundubhis, who remain unseen. These are the *panchamahâsabda*; namely,—(1) *sringa*, the horn; (2) *tammata*, the drum; (3) *sankha*, the shell; (4) *bheri*, the trumpet; (5) *jayaghanta*, the cymbal.

But the most puzzling of the Mathura sculptures are the four which I have collected together in Plate IV, figures 2, 3, 4, 5. They are now in the local museum, without any record of the place where they were found. When I first

See Plate III, lower figures.

[2] See Plate IV, figure 1.

saw these figures they were in the Mahalla of Manoharpur in the city. Each of the females has a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked.

Both of the males are represented with the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder, in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm.

I can find no clue to these curious ox-headed figures. At first I thought that they might be yakshas and yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children. But the small figures seated on the shoulders of the two male giants seem to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

Diligent search was made through the city of Mathura for sculptures and inscriptions. I revisited the old fort on the bank of the Jumna above Sital-Ghâti. The site is a very commanding one, but I failed to find any ancient remains. Some years ago I found on the Sital-ghâti mound a broken Jaina figure naked, with an Indo-Scythian inscription, dated in the year 57, both in words and in figures. This was afterwards placed by Mr. Growse in the local museum.

From the first mound I proceeded to the north-west to the Arjunpura Mahalla mound, on which there were many fragments of sculpture, with numerous large bricks 18 × 10 × 2½ inches. Amongst them I found a small Buddhist pillar of 7½ by 6 inches section, with lotus flowers on the face, and the following short inscription in three lines of old Asoka characters. See Plate V, figure 1—

Amogha-Rakkhitaye dânam.
"Gift of Amoghâ-Rakshitâ."

Still further to the north of Arjunpura, in Râni-ki-Mandi, an inscription was obtained from a Chamâr, who had found it 15 years ago in an old well at 18 haths, or 27 feet, below the surface. The well was regularly built of large old bricks. The inscription, which is roughly carved on the pedestal of a broken statue, is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. A copy of it is given in the accompanying Plate V, figure 6. I believe that many of the strokes that look like vowels are mere slips of the chisel.

The inscription opens with the invocation—

Namo Arahantânam! namo Siddhânam!

"Glory to the Arahantas! Glory to the Siddhas!"

Then comes the date, Sam. 62, Gr. 3, di. 5. "In the year 62, in the 3rd month (or fortnight) of Grishma, the 5th day." The last two words of the inscription seem to be *vâpikâye detti*, and to refer to the well (*vâpi*) in which the inscription was found.

There are traces of buildings and fragments of sculptures on the great Jaysinghpura mound, one mile to the north of the city, and to the west of the road leading to Brindâban. Here Mr. Growse records that "several Buddhist sculptures have been found at different times, and collected at a shrine of Châmundâ Devi." Some of the best were removed to the local museum.

One of the most certain proofs of the antiquity of a place is the number of ancient coins that are found every year amongst its ruins. In this respect Mathura is one of the most prolific fields in Northern India. Here are found the old punch-marked pieces of silver and copper, which were most probably current as early as the time of Büddha. Here also are found silver hemidrachmas of the Greek princes Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus, and Straton. Then follow the copper coins of the Hindü princes Purusha-datta, Râma-datta, &c. Next come the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings Wema, Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasu Deva (both gold and copper), who ruled over Northern India during the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era. These are succeeded by the coins of the

great Gupta kings in gold, silver, and copper. Next come the thin pieces of Indo-Sassanian type belonging to the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. Then follow the Hindu coins of the Rathors of Kanauj and the Tomars and Chauhâns of Delhi. And, lastly, come the coins of the Muhammadan kings of Delhi from the conquest by Mahomed bin Sâm down to the present day.

There are no ancient buildings now standing at Mathura. As one of the most holy seats of the Hindu religion, the city was repeatedly harried by the more bigoted Muhammadan princes—by Mâhmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1018, by Sikandar Lodi about 1500 A.D., and, lastly, by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1669.

Of Sikandar Lodi it is related that—

"He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura, the mine of heathenism, and turned their principal Hindû places of worship into caravanserais and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat weights, and all the Hindûs in Mathura were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards, and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindû, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it."[1]

After this merciless harrying the city of Mathura must have been nearly deserted; and was very probably, as Mr. Growse thinks, "only a place of pilgrimage." And, accordingly, we learn that the site on which the present Nab-Masjid stands was purchased by Abdun Nabi from some butchers.[2] From its commanding position, this was no doubt the site of one of the Hindu temples destroyed by Sikandar Lodi.

During the tolerant reign of Akbâr, Râjâ Mân Singh built the great temple at Brindâban; and in the following reign of Jahângir the Râjâ of Urcha, Bir Singh Deo, who had won the Emperor's favour by the assassination of Abul Fazl, was permitted to rebuild the temple of Kesava Deva on the site of the Katra. This is the temple which was seen by Tavernier in all its glory, about forty years after it was finished. But

[1] H. M. Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, p. 447.
[2] Growse's Mathura, p. 33.

some twelve or fifteen years later it was overthrown by Aurangzeb.

"Glory be to God," says the author of the Maâsir—"that so difficult an undertaking has been successfully accomplished in the present auspicious reign, wherein so many dens of heathenism and idolatry have been destroyed. Seeing the power of Islâm and the efficacy of true religion, the proud Râjâs felt their breath burning in their throats, and became as dumb as a picture on a wall. The idols, large and small alike, all adorned with costly jewels, were carried away from the heathen shrines and taken to Agra, where they were buried under the steps of Nawâb Kudsia Begam's Mosque, so that people might trample upon them for ever. It was from this event that Mathura was called Islâmabâd."[1]

Mr. Growse fixes the date of the destruction of the great temple of Kesava Deva in February 1669, when Aurangzeb visited Mathura in person.[2] In my second report, written in 1862-63, I had already discovered that the temple was still standing in A.D. 1663, and I verified the charge against Aurangzeb "by means of some inscriptions on the pavement slabs, which were recorded by Hindû pilgrims to the shrine of Kesava Ray. In relaying the pavement the Muhammadan architect was obliged to cut many of the slabs to make them fit into their new places. This was proved by several of the slabs bearing incomplete portions of Nâgari inscriptions of a late date. One slab has "...vat. 1713, Phâlgun," the initial Sam of Samvat having been cut off. Another slab has the name of Keso Ray, the rest being wanting, while a third bears the date of Samvat 1720. These dates are equivalent to A.D. 1656 and 1663; and, as the latter is five years subsequent to the accession of Aurangzeb, it is certain that the Hindû temple was still standing at the beginning of his reign.

VII.—PARKHAM.

Parkham is an old village situated on a low mound close

[1] Quoted in Growse's Mathura, p. 36. I am not aware of a single instance of the use of this name for Mathura. The great fort of Tahangarh in Karauli, near Bayâna, was called *Kilah* Islâmâbâd.

[2] Growse—Memoir on Mathura, p. 35.

to the railway station between Agra and Mathura, 25 miles from the former place and 14 miles from the latter. It has hitherto escaped notice, as it lies several miles to the west of the high road leading from Agra to Mathura. It is simply mentioned by Mr. Growse, in his valuable account of the Mathura district, as a village of 678 inhabitants, where "a fair in honour of Jakhaiya is held every Sunday in the month of Mâgh."[1]

But Parkham is remarkable for the possession of the oldest statue that has yet been found in the Mathura district, which has yielded so much sculpture of the Indo-Scythian period. The statue is a colossal standing figure of a man cut in the round, 7 feet in height from head to foot and 2 feet broad across the shoulders.[2] The left knee is slightly bent. Both arms are broken, and the face has been nearly obliterated by repeated libations and anointments with ghi and red lead, which have left a very hard and unsightly crust of dirt on the breast. The figure is clothed from head to foot in a loose flowing garment, which is secured by two broad bands, one round the waist, and the other round the loins. The whole body is much too bulky; and seen from the side the two bands look exactly as if they were intended to support its pot-belly.

The statue is made of grey sandstone, and still retains many traces of having been highly polished. The figure is called Devata, or "the God," and has been in its present position for an unknown length of time. All the other remains at Parkham are of red sandstone, and comparatively modern. Both arms being broken off just below the shoulders, it is difficult to say what was the action of the figure. But I suspect that the statue was that of a yaksha, or attendant demi-god, who carried a *chauri* over the right shoulder. The dress is very peculiar, and has nothing whatever in common with that of the later figures of the Indo-Scythian period. There is a short garland or necklace round the

* Archæological Survey, Vol. I, p. 235.

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 403.

[2] See Plate VI for two views of this statue.

neck, which is ornamented at the back with four dependent tassels.

But the most interesting point about this statue is an inscription in two lines on the upper surface of the base pedestal one line outside the left foot, and the other line outside the right foot. As the characters are those of the Asoka period, the statue must belong to the 3rd century B.C. The accompanying sketches, which are copied from photographs, will give a very good idea of the costume of the statue, and of its present state.

The inscription I read as follows :—

Left.—Nibhadapugarâ * * * * garate * *
Right.—Kunikatevâsinâ gomâtakena katâ.[1]

VIII.—MAHWAN.

The small village of Mahwan is situated on a long high mound on the west side of the Agra road, 13 miles to the south of Mathura. The mound is covered with broken bricks, and fragments of stone, amongst which was found a small piece bearing the representation of the lower part of a flight of steps. On the third step from below, a pair of feet still remain, and on the bottom step there is a kneeling figure with hands joined in adoration. Below the sculpture there is engraved the number 23 in characters of the Indo-Scythian period.—See Plate V, figure 3.

The figure on the bottom step I take to be the nun Pundarîka Varna, who, wishing to see Bûddha, was changed by his power into a Chakravartti king, by which transformation she was able to make her way to the foot of the Sangkasya flight of steps, by which Bûddha was to descend from heaven to earth. After having seen Bûddha she resumed her proper figure as a nun.

The stone is only 5½ inches broad, and most probably formed part of a pillar of small Bûddhist railing.

The same scene is represented on a small bas-relief of soapstone, which was found at Sankisa itself. A sketch of it is given in Archæological Survey, Vol. XI, Plate IX, figure 2.

[1] See Plate VI for the statue and its inscriptions.

IX.—MAHÁBAN.

After reading Mr. Growse's very full and careful report on the antiquities of Mahâban, I had on two or three occasions left the place unvisited, as I thought that there would be little to repay me.[1] But whilst I was in the neighbourhood of Mathura during the past season, I crossed the Jumna to Mahâban for the purpose of examining the great Masjid, called *Assi-khamba*, or the "eighty pillars," in the old fort which is built entirely of Hindû materials. During my visit I was fortunate enough to obtain a long Hindû inscription of 29 lines of Râjâ Ajaya Pâla Deva, dated in Samvat 1207, or A.D. 1150.

The only ancient remains now standing at Mahâban are the Hindû pillars in the long building known as *Assi-khamba*, or the "eighty pillars," which has been appropriated by the Hindûs as the scene of Krishna's infancy under the name of *Chhatti-pâlnâ*.[2] It is, however, a simple masjid, which was made up of Hindû materials in the time of Aurangzeb. It consists of five rows of fifteen plllars, most of them manufactured by the Muhammadan architect by joining pieces of different pillars, one on top of the other.

Three of the shorter pillars (lower portions of the present Muhammadan columns) are only 4½ feet in height, and have sloping channels cut in the side to receive the edges of the sloping balustrades of a temple balcony. Two of these are very highly decorated, while one is nearly plain. Several pieces of these balustrades were found by Mr. Growse when digging the foundation of the back-wall, and are now inserted in the face of the south wall.

As to the make-up of the pillars, I can point to the two ornamented balcony shafts, which are made up to the requisite height by square rough blocks. In the front row also two of the largest pillars are made up by placing two lower pieces of 3½ feet in circumference on the top of two upper

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 251.

[2] *Chatti* means "sixth," and refers to the 6th day after child-birth, when the *Chatti-puja*, or purification is performed. *Pâlnâ* is a "cradle."

pieces, only 3½ feet in circumference. In several instances, also, lions' heads and other ornaments have been placed upside down; and this is more especially noticeable in the case of one inscribed pillar, on which the inscribed upper half is placed upside down.

But the most remarkable feature about this Masjid is that more than one-half of the southern end consists of the ***Mandapa***, or nave of a Hindû temple almost undisturbed. This portion is shown in the plan by dark shading.[1] There are no less than eighteen pillars belonging to this one temple, which still retain their original positions, two or three only having been disturbed, probably by falling. The strongest proof of their being still *in situ* is the fact that several of the Hindû roofs yet remain (five out of nine). The centre roof and the four corner roofs consist of the usual honeycombed circles rising one above the other. The central roof has five concentric circles: the corner ones have only two. The other three remaining oblong roofs are flat ceilings, with a lotus flower in the middle, and a square panel on each side. In the angles of the bracket capitals of the central and corner roofs there are ornamented pendants, either for the reception of figures or for lamps.

The pillars of this temple are of the same general pattern, but differ in the details.

The two pillars D^4 and D^5 are ornamented, while the four behind them, C^4 and C^5, B^4 and B^5, are of the same pattern, but without ornament. See Plate VII.

The pillars D^3 and D^6 correspond with those behind them, —B^3, C^3, B^6, and C^6.

So also D^2 corresponds with D^7, and with B^7, and C^7, but not with B^2 and C^2, which have been changed. The shaft of D^7 is also in one piece, while those of B^7 and C^7 are in two pieces, their upper pieces being upside down as shown by the bands of ornament, as well as by the inverted inscription on C^7 noticed by Mr. Growse.

The whole consists of 80 pillars; in five rows of 16 pillars

[1] See Plate VII and Plate VIII, where the undisturbed portion is enlarged.

each, forming four aisles. For easy reference I have marked the longitudinal rows with the letters A, B, C, D, E, and the tranverse rows with Nos. 1 to 16.

Nearly all the pillars in the front row, E[1] to E[16], are of the same pattern, with belts of figures which have been ruthlessly mutilated. As several of their capitals correspond with others, now lying on a low mound about 100 yards to the north-west, I infer that they may all have belonged to some temple which once stood on that site.

At the norfh end of the Assi-khamba Masjid, there is a small tomb of Sayid Yahia of Mashad, under a nîm tree. As he is the reputed recoverer of the fort of Mahâban from the Hindûs, I presume that he must have destroyed the temple and built a mosque in its place. Mr. Growse places this event in the reign of Ala-ud-din, or A.H. 695 to 715.

The two towns of Mahâban and Gokal are situated so close together that they may be considered as separate portions of the original old town of Gokal. This is also the opinion of Mr. Growse, who brings forward the weighty argument that—

"All the traditional sites of Krishna's adventures described in the Purânas as having taken place at Gokal are shown at Mahâban, while the Gokal temples are essentially modern."

Thus, Krishna's birth-place was Gokal, but the site now shown is in the fort of Mahâban close to the Assi-khamba. So also the place where he was nursed is now shown in the *Chhattipâlnâ* inside the Assi-khamba itself.

Gokal is situated on the left bank of the Jumna 5 miles to the south-south-east of Mathura, and Mahâban stands 1 mile to the south-east of Gokal, and close to the old high bank of the river. Its position thus agrees pretty well with that of the town of Klisobora, which is mentioned by both Pliny and Arrian. The former says—"Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Clisobora." [1] Arrian omits the name of the Palibothri, but describes Methora and Kaleisobora as two great cities of the Suraseni, between

[1] Pliny's Natural History, Vol. VI, pp. 19, 22.

which ran the river Johares.[1] Now, the birth-place of Krishna would naturally be called *Krishnapura*, which is a very close approximation to *Klisobora*, although no authority has yet been found for its being so named.[2] Lãssen had already proposed this identification, as well as that of Herakles, the god of the Suraseni, with Vishnu-Krishna, as Gadâdhara, or the "club-bearer." Mr. Growse has also adopted it. But in my account of Mathura I have identified the Kesopura Mahalla of the city of Mathura with the ancient *Klisobora* or *Kaisobora* (as it may be read), that is, the town of *Kesava* or Krishna. I see no difficulty in Pliny's mention of the Palibothri instead of the Suraseni, as the whole of Northern India had been brought under the rule of the kings of Palibothra. The earliest mention of Krishna is in the Sutras of Pânini's Grammar, where he is called a god as well as a hero.[3] His worship is, therefore, older than the time of Chandra Gupta, in whose reign Palibothra was visited by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukus. As both Pliny and Arrian drew most of their information from him, the statement of the worship of the Indian Herakles and the mention of Kaisobora, or Kesopura, date as early as the 4th century, B.C.

But between the invasion of Alexander and of Mâhmud Ghaznavi, there is a long interval of thirteen centuries and a half, during which time we have no mention of either Mahâban or Gokal. We may, however, be certain that Mahâban must have followed the fortunes of Mathura, and that it became successively a part of the great empires of the Mauryas, the Indo-Scythians, and the Guptas, and lastly of Harsha Vardhana the great king of Kanauj in the first half of the 7th century. The Surasenas, however, were ruled by a king of their own, as Hwen Thsang, in A.D. 635, says that the king of Mathura was a *Sudra*, while Harsha Vardhana, who was reigning at the time, was a Bais Rajput. Between the death of

[1] Arrian's Indica, c. 8.

[2] Cicero (see Natura Deorum, Vol. III, p. 16) says that the Indian Hercules was named 'Belus,' which may be compared with Bâla-deva, the brother of Krishna.

[3] Max Muller: Ancient Sanscrit Literature, p. 45, note.

Harsha and the invasion of Mâhmud, the country of the Surasenas must have been subject to the dynasty of Devi-sakta Deva of Kanauj, and the Tomars of Delhi. At the time of Mâhmud's invasion, the Râjâ of Mahâban was named *Kulchandar*, but he was, no doubt, the Râjâ of Braj, or of the whole Mathura district.

We now come to the inscription of Ajaya Pâla Deva, which I obtained in Mahâban. It is dated in Samvat 1207 or A.D. 1150. Now, there is a prince of this name in the list of the Yâduvansi Râjâs of Bayâna, who is the fourth or fifth in descent from Vijaya Pâla Deva of whom we have an inscription from a pillar in Bayâna dated in Samvat 1200, or A.D. 1143. The Surasena country would, therefore, seem to have been still in the possession of the descendants of its old Yâduvansi princes. But within fifty years the whole country fell under the powerful rule of the Muhammadan Ghori Sultâns; and though it was recovered for a short time by the Hindûs, it was retaken by the Muhammadans in the reign of Alâ-ud-din Khalji by Sayid Yahya of Mashad, and remained in their possession until the British occupation. Some lands called Thok Sayid are still held by the Sayid's descendants.[1]

X.—LOHBAN.

The name of *Lohaban*, or the grove of Lodh or Lodhra trees, is popularly ascribed to an Asur, named Loha or Loha-jangha, whose image is now represented by the lower half of a broken figure standing at a short distance from the temple of Gopinâth. *Lohajangha*, or "iron-leg," was a demon overcome by Krishna. Offerings of *iron* are made here at the annual festival, and on all occasions whenever pilgrims may happen to come. The pieces of iron are first rubbed on the image.

Lohaban is one of the twelve great *bans*, or "groves." It is on the eastern side of the Jumna, 7 miles to the north of Mahâban, and 3 miles from the city of Mathura.

Mr. Growse points out that in the Vrihat-katha of Soma-deva (A.D. 1059-1071) there is a story of Lohajangha, a

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 252.

Brâhman of Mathura, who was miraculously conveyed to Lanka. Hence he reasonably infers that the name is at least as old as the 11th century A.D.

The figure called Lohajangha is of life-size, but broken off across the loins. The figure is similar to that given in Vol. III, Plate XI, figure D, and Plate XLVII, figure 2 of the same volume of the Archæological Survey

The Krishna-kund at Lohban is a dirty puddle, which dries up every year.

The Krishna-kûa is a simple well.

XI.—PALI-KHERA.

The small village of Pâli-khera lies on the high road to Sonkh, at 2½ miles to the south-west of the Katra, and upwards of 3 miles to the west of the cantonment of Mathura. It possesses an old khera, or mound, in which Mr. Growse discovered a second Bacchanalian group, similar to that which was obtained at Mathura by Colonel Stacy in 1836, and which is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. In the same mound Mr. Growse found *in situ* three bell-shaped "bases of large columns, at 13 feet distance from one another, at the three corners of a square. The fourth had completely disappeared."[1]

These three bases were still in their original places at the time of my visit to Mathura in October 1882. They are all more or less broken, but not so much as to prevent measurement. Each consists of a square member of 2 feet 9 inches side and 9 inches in height, with a circular top 1 foot 4 inches high, and very much rounded on the outer face. On the top there is a socket hole, 5 inches broad and 5 inches deep, for the reception of a tenon of the shaft, which must have been about 18 inches in diameter. It was most probably octangular in shape, as I have found that in all the Asoka and Indo-Scythian sculptures the monoliths are represented as circular, while the pillars of the buildings are invariably octangular.

In the very middle of this square building, according to

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 115.

the people's account, Mr. Growse exhumed the Bacchanalian group. The four pillars must, therefore, have supported a canopy over the enshrined sculpture, of which the Bacchanalian group was perhaps only the pedestal. It is quite possible, however, that the top of each of these Bacchanalian groups was only a hollow bowl, or altar. But if they were pedestals, as seems to me not improbable, it is very difficult to say what could have been placed upon them. There is, however, one very curious group which might possibly have stood upon one of these Bacchanalian bases. The lower part is unfortunately lost, but the upper half is generally in very good order. It consists of a central female figure, with a canopy formed of eleven snakes' hoods.[1] Behind her are five female figures, naked to the loins, and girt with the usual five-string zone of the Indo-Scythian period. These five figures radiate round her, two springing out at an angle from behind the shoulders, one from behind the head, and the other two intermediate. As no part of these five figures is visible below the loins, I conclude that they are Nâgnis, their snaky extremities being hidden. The principal figure would appear to be the Queen of the Snakes. At the back the figures are all hidden by a tree and its foliage. The sculpture was, therefore, intended to be seen all round. It is just 3 feet broad.

XII.—MORA.

Mora, or Mora-meyi, is a small village 7 miles to the west of the Katra, and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathura to Govardhan, and about halfway between the two places. Near the village there is an old well, with a large inscribed slab forming part of the terrace. The slab is between 7½ and 8 feet in length by 3½ feet in breadth. The inscription was originally nearly 3 feet long, but the whole of the right half has peeled away, and only the left half now remains. Fortunately this part is very perfect,—which is particularly fortunate, as the inscription is one of the

[1] See Plate III, upper sculpture.

oldest that has yet been found in the Mathura district. There are four lines, which I read as follows :—

1.—Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Swâmi Va-(Vi)
2.—Bhagavatâ Vrishnena pancha Vairânâm pratimu Saila trwa-(gra)
3.—Yasto Shâyâh Sailam Sri mad graha mâtula mudhadesa madhâra
4.—Ârcha desâm Sailâm pancha jwalaitâ Iva parama Vapeshâ

XIII.—ANYOR.

The village of Anyor (Anour of maps) stands at the south-eastern foot of the Girirâj, or Govardhan, hill, just below its highest point. Mr. Growse derives the name from *any* + *or*, the "other end" of the Govardhan hill. At the present day the hill is dedicated to the worship of Krishna, and here at Anyor is celebrated the Girirâj-pujâ, or adoration of the sacred hill, and also the *Annakût*, or commemoration of Krishna's sacrifice. Now, the name of Annakûṭ seems to me to offer a preferable derivation for Anyor. By the elision of *K* we get Annäût, or *Annaut*, or *Anyoṭ*, and, as the cerebral *ṭ* is often pronounced as *r*, as in *baṛ* for *Vaṭ*, the "banyan tree," Anyot would become Anyor.

But whatever may have been the derivation of the name, it is certain that in early days the hill was not dedicated to the worship of Krishna only; for outside the village there still exists a large statue of Bûddha, with the following inscription in two lines on its pedestal—

1.—*Upâsakasya Sushasya* Hârushasya dânam Bûddha pratima uttarasya Hârushasya.
2.—Vihâra Sahâ Matu pitihi sarvvasatwânâm hita sukhathâ.

Here we have a very early mention of the gift of a statue of Bûddha to the Vihâra of Uttara Hârusha by the Upâsaka Susha of Hârush(?) for the benefit of himself, of his mother and father, and of all beings.

XIV.—KOṬA.

Kota is a small village to the west of the Delhi road, 3

miles to the north of Mathura. Its old name, according to my informants, was *Kutak-ban*, but Mr. Growse writes *Katak-ban*. It possesses a large *kund*, or reservoir for retaining water, with a masonry causeway or wall, 300 feet long and rom 3¼ to 4½ feet thick, built across an extensive hollow to the north-east of the village. The causeway has four small pointed arches, with thin walls inside, for regulating the flow of the water.

Several small pillars of some old Büddhist building are built into this causeway. The people say that similar pillars have been found on the northern bank of the kund. One which was found lying near the village is now used as a stop-gap in an irrigating watercourse. To the north of the kund there is a long mound, on the edge of which a long brick wall has been dug out to furnish materials for a village well. Towards the eastern end there are the remains of a brick ghât leading down to the kund. This mound is said to have yielded all the pillars that are shown scattered about. Several were dug up a few years ago by a Lodha cultivator, who put them back again; but the people were unable, or unwilling, to point out their position.

The pillars are only 2 feet 8 inches high by 7 inches broad, and 3½ inches thick. Sixteen pillars were discovered of this size, each ornamented in front with either a man or woman standing on a prostrate figure. No two figures are alike. On the back there are two full lotus flowers in the middle, and two half lotus flowers at the top and bottom. Each pillar is pierced with three holes for the usual rail-bars, each 7 inches deep by 1¼ inch broad. Not a single rail-bar was discovered. Two of the sixteen pillars were cut sloping, both above and below, for a staircase.

One pillar of a small size was found, being only 1 foot 7 inches in height. A large head was also discovered with a crown or flat-topped head-dress, and a group of two females standing side by side under a large tree, which is fully represented on the back of the stone. It must, therefore, have been placed in such a position as to be seen all round. This group is shown in Plate III, in the two lower figures.

The following is a detailed account of the figures sculptured on the railing pillars :—

A. Female standing with back to the spectator. Her head turned back to look over right shoulder. Her left hand grasps the branch of a tree ; her right hand holds a fruit. She has the usual zone round the loins.

B. Male standing to front, holding a *chauri* over the right shoulder, left hand resting on hip. He wears a pointed cap, and is dressed in a long tunic and trowsers, with sword-belt and sword.

C. Male figure standing to front, holding a *chauri* over the right shoulder. He is dressed in voluminous drapery and his head-dress has a high mitred top, like that given to the figures of Krishna. Overhead there is a Buddhist railing instead of the usual tree.

D. Female standing to front. Her right hand is placed on her hip, while her left holds a branch of a tree overhead. She wears a zone, but appears to be naked otherwise.

E. Male standing to front, with Krishna : head-dress as on C. He holds flowers in both hands.

F. Female standing to front. Her left hand holds a flower and her right hangs by her side.

G. Female standing to front. Her right elbow is raised high above her head in a very acknowledged position. Her right hand holds a flower and her left hand a bowl. She wears a zone.

H. Female kneeling—top broken off.

J. Male standing—top broken off.

K. Male standing, holding a bowl with both hands. Right knee raised, with the foot resting on a rock.

L. Pillar built into village well, only the socket-holes visible.

M. Male standing to front, holding a *chauri* over right shoulder, with left hand resting on hip.

N. Female standing to front. Tree overhead. Her left hand grasps her earring. Her right hand holds an object ornamented with a horse's head.

O. *Sloping Rail.* Female standing to front ; right hand by her side and left hand holding branch of tree overhead.

P. *Sloping Rail.* Male standing to front, holding *chauri* over right shoulder—and left hand resting on hip.

Here it will be observed that no less than four of the male figures are simple attendants carrying *chauris* (B, C, M, and P). The male figure E is making an offering of flowers, and the male figure J is offering something in a bowl held in both hands. The action of the female figures is less obvious. Some are apparently making offerings, but others appear to be doing nothing in particular, except standing to be looked at. Most of them seem to be quite naked, but the marks of their long petticoats about their ankles show that this was not the intention of the artist, although he has gone out of his way to mark the sex of the figures.

All the figures represented on these pillars have no connection with the history of Buddha. They are either mere attendants like the *chauri-bearers*, or persons making offerings. In the Bharhut sculptures the historical and legendary scenes are confined to the medallions of the railing pillars; but the ornamentation on the backs of these small Kota pillars is limited to a repetition of lotus flowers.

XV.—CHAUMUHA.

The old village of Chaumuha is situated on the Delhi road, 10 miles to the north of Mathura. It was the site of one of the royal sarais built by the Mughal Emperors for their personal accommodation when travelling between Agra and Delhi. The name is probably an old one, but it was certainly not the original name of the village, as it is derived from a broken piece of a Bûddhist pillar, with four lions seated at the corners. Hence the name of *Chaumuha*, or *Chatur-mukha*, the "four faces," was first given to the sculpture, and has since been applied to the village.

The sculpture consists of a circular drum, 15 inches in diameter, standing on a square base of 19 inches side and 2 inches high. The top part of the drum is broken off. About 3 inches below the top there is a band of Bûddhist railing, 5 inches in height, running all round. At each corner of the square there is a lion sitting on its haunches, and between each pair of lions there is an apparently naked female standing with left hand on her hip, and her right hand raised and

holding a flower. She wears earrings, necklace, zone, and anklets, and her naked appearance is no doubt caused by the abrasion of the stone in front, as the clothing appears quite distinct in the recessed portion between the legs.

By the people this sculpture is supposed to represent the four-faced god Brâhma. But Mr. Growse thinks that—

"it is in reality the circular pedestal of a Jaina statue, or column; with a lion at each corner, and a nude female figure in each of the four intervening spaces, the upper border being roughly carved with the Bûddhist rail pattern."[1]

I differ, however, from Mr. Growse, as I consider the sculpture to be decidedly Buddhist. My opinion is borne out by the discovery of the pillar of a Buddhist railing in the village, which is a proof that the site was a Buddhist one. I think also that the sculpture must have been the capital of a pillar, as not one of the Buddhist monoliths yet found possesses a base. I look upon the square member on which the lions sit as the abacus of the capital, which may have been crowned by a large wheel, or *dharma chakra,* similar to that which I discovered close to the Sânchi Stûpa.

The royal serai at Chaumuha is mentioned by Padrè Tieffenthaler in A.D. 1745, who speaks of the "hotellerie belle et commode." Mr. Growse mentions that the building of the serai is attributed to Sher Shâh.

XVI.—TUMAULA.

Mr. Growse gives the following account of the discovery of a large statue at Tumaula, 21 miles to the north-west of Mathura, and just half-way between Châta and Kosi:—

"Just above the bridge the canal has been carried through a very large tank, which in the course of centuries had been partially filled up. When the excavations were in progress, a life-size statue was discovered, much defaced, and with the head severed from the body. It has no very distinctive attributes, but might be intended to represent the god Râma, or the Râjâ who constructed the tank. The antiquity of the work is attested by the enormous size of the bricks used in the foundations."

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 29.

The statue appears to me to be a standing figure of Buddha, with the usual curly hair and long slit ears. Both arms are gone, so that there is nothing to show what was the action of the figure. Both feet also are gone, but from the ankles to the top of the head the height is 6 feet 9½ inches, so that the full height of the statue must have been over 7 feet. The upper part of the body is bare, but from the waist downwards the figure is clad in a *dhoti*, with a girdle or sash, with pendant ends, around the loins.

XVII.—KAMAN.

The old fort of Kâman lies between two low ranges of hills on the high road from Delhi to Bayâna. Owing to its position it must have fallen an early prey to the Muhammadan conquerors. It is situated in the Bharatpur territory, 39 miles to the west-north-west of Mathura, and 14 miles to the north of Dîg. It is one of the twelve holy *places* of the Banjâtra, and its shrine of Gopinâth is regularly visited by pilgrims. But the most popular place is the cave of *Luk-luk*, "where the boys played blind-man's-buff."[1] The name of Kâman is a contraction of Kadamba-Vana, or the "kadamba forest," by the elision of the letters *d* and *v*. In our maps it is written simply Kâma; but the people call it *Kâman*, and the name is so spelt in the report on the Bharatpur territory in the Râjputâna Gazetteer. The Kadamb tree abounds at Kâman, and there is a spot called *Kadamb-khandi* on the range of hills 4 miles to the east. Mr. Growse writes the full name as *Kâmya-ban*; but the place certainly derives its name from the Kadamba tree, as the two short *a*'s coalesce to form one long *â* after the elision of the *d*.

The site of Kâman is undoubtedly old, as the great mound of the fort, rising from 30 feet in height on the east to 50 feet on the west, is a mere mass of ruins. Nothing is known, or even conjectured, about the early history of Kâman. Everything old is referred to the time of the Jâdon Râjâs, and the only cult now followed is that of Krishna and Râdhâ. All the stories about the places where the lovers sat, ate, drank,

[1] Growse's Mathura, page 79.

or dallied, are swallowed with unwavering belief, along with draughts of water from the filthy kunds at each holy site.

Kâman possesses one place of great interest in its old Masjid, now known as the *Chaonsat-khamba*, or "sixty-four pillars." The building consists of a cloistered square surrounding a courtyard 52 feet 8 inches long by 49 feet 9 inches broad. The Masjid consists of three rows, of eight pillars each, forming three aisles. On the entrance side, or east, there are two rows, of eight pillars each, forming two aisles, and on the north and south sides there is one row of six tall pillars in each forming a single aisle. But on the north side, instead of the plain wall which closes the south side, there is a raised terrace, 7½ feet wide, with a double row of short pillars forming a single aisle open to the outside. The same raised terrace is continued on the east side, but the portion to the south of the entrance gateway has been blocked up. By this arrangement the gateway itself is not quite in the middle of the eastern face of the quadrangle, the wall to the left, or south, being 24 feet 2 inches in length, while that to the right, or north, 29 feet. At first I thought that the southern side of the quadrangle might have fallen down and have been repaired without the raised open terrace which exists on the north side. But when I examined the south wall I was satisfied that it was a part of the original structure; and as I afterwards found the same arrangement in the north and south walls of the Ukha Masjid at Bayâna, I have no doubt that such was the original design.

None of the pillars are without ornament, and some of them are very highly decorated. All are square, and the lower half of many of them is quite plain. The aisles are 14 feet in height, each column being formed of two Hindû shafts, placed one above the other, the lower portions being taller than the upper ones. The short pillars of the raised terraces are only 8½ feet high. Many of the pillars had figures sculptured on their faces, all of which have been either cut off or mutilated. I recognised Kâli, Ganesa, Vishnu (four-armed with club, &c.), and Nara Sinha. Several pillars have small scenes, as well as crocodiles and peacocks, in circular and

semi-circular medallions. Nâgas with double snaky tails sit at the corners, the tails being intertwined on the adjacent faces. There are also grotesque faces with large staring eyes, and minutely small hands and feet attached to them, without any visible bodies. Nowhere was there any trace of Bûddhism.

The west and south walls, and also a portion of the entrance gateway, are faced with red stone slabs. The east and north walls are built of old temple stones of a brownish blue colour quarried from the neighbouring hills. Their ornaments and clamp holes show that they must have belonged originally to Hindü temples. Many of the wall stones are Hindû pillars placed horizontally. Altogether I found 52 Hindû pillars built into the walls and roofs of this masjid; and as the masjid and cloisters have 96 standing pillars, of which the 52 taller ones are double, the total number of Hindû pillars to be seen in this building is just 200.

Outside the north-west corner there is a flight of steps leading to a small balcony supported on four Hindû pillars, from which a doorway formerly led into a private upper apartment for the use of the ladies of the Governor's family. The upper room has now disappeared, and the masjid is utterly deserted, as the country of Bharatpur, in which Kamân is situated, is now under the rule of a Hindû Râjâ.

Around the entrance doorway of the quadrangle there is an Arabic inscription in large letters, 8¼ inches high. It begins from the ground on the right-hand side, passes over the doorway in a horizontal line, and down the left side to the ground. Both the beginning and the end are too much injured to be read. The first legible word is *fi*, which is shortly followed by—*din us Sultan, ul âlam, ul âdil, ul âzam ul mulk* (two more letters) *abul Muzaffer Iltitmish us Sultân*. In the horizontal line I can read only the word *Sulimâni*, and on the left side only *Sultâni*. The name of the king is very much injured; but I think it is almost certainly as I have read it, as there are no arches in the building. This fact, which betrays a very early date, as we know that all the buildings of Iltitmish yet discovered have the Hindû overlap-

ping arches. All the roofs are flat, except a small compartment in front of the Mihrâb, which has a dome formed in the usual Hindû fashion of overlapping stones.

On the inner face of the eastern wall, close to the steps which lead up to the raised gallery and to the roof of the gateway, there is a long Sanskrit inscription on a pillar which has been built into the wall horizontally. The pillar is 12 inches thick; and the inscription consists of 37 lines of small letters. In the third line I read the word *Sri Surasenâvangse.* I think it may be as old as the 8th century.

On one of the pillars close by there is some Persian writing with the date of 754 A.H., or A.D. 1353, which was the 3rd year of the reign of Firoz Tughlak. There are also several early Nâgari letters on different pillars; as *maka, sra, ka,* &c., all of the same age as the Surasena inscription.

The Sanskrit inscription of the Surasenas was discovered some years ago by Pandit Bhagwân Lâl Indraji, who has given a transcript of the text and a brief notice of its contents in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, p. 34. As I am now able to give a photograph taken from an impression, I will add the Pandit's Devanâgari transcript of the text for comparison.

सर्वांशाम्बरः ... स्फुरद्बुधमदा ... घनश्यामा
... दैत्यध्वस [ज] ॥

२। [नित] सत्कीर्त्ति गुरवः । यशःकथाः ... श्रीमन्त माधवयशुमाधि-
कविजया ... [:श्रियं] ॥

[च] काः शौरेर्विदधतु ... महाम्भोधय इव ॥ श्रीशूरसेनवं-
शाद्भवानुदयाद्रि [तो] ॥

३। [यथा] मघवा वत्सो मविरिव गुणवान् श्रीपद्मो भूभुजाममणः सदा
[प्रियाभ] ॥

[स] देवी देविका देवसम्भवा यस्याः कुलभटः श्रीमान्सुतोभूत्प
[रमः ॥

[1] Growse's Mathura, p. 79.

६। [च] भूव तस्य सा साध्वी महिषी महिता गुणैः हक्किणीनाम विख्याता [तत्पुत्रो]॥

[द्धा] जितो जितः॥ अजितस्य सुतो त्वष्टा जाया सौदसरः प्रिया।।
याहू [तत्तनयं]॥

८। [श्रे] ष्ठं श्री मं [भ] टमूर्जितं॥ भञ्जन्ती गुरु भार भुग्नगिरसङ्घ्रे-
घस्य ... ...॥ कुचद्वयाहतिपतद्धा घोष बीनाङ्गुणा
उद्धत्य सभं वराहव [पुष्पा] ... ... ॥

१०। द्विजेभ्यो मुदा पृथ्वी येन मधुद्विषेव न पुनः क्रोडेन संरक्षिता॥
... ... स्य तस्य निघ्नो धितद्विषः
वच्छक्षिकेत्य भूद्भार्यां विष्णोर्लक्ष्मीरि [वापरा] ... ... ॥

१२। विवेत्यन ... एकवीरो ... महादातिः ... दुर्गदामा
... नृपश्रेष्ठः ... ... मूर्धनि ... ॥
... नाना शस्त्रप्रहार स्रुतसभयमन्मत्त मातङ्ग सङ्घ ... ॥

१४। यस्तत्खरखुरदलनासादितार्तीनरातीन्। हेलाकृष्टासि ...
... ... स्थाराम्बदेशः स [न्यग्रो]
यो जिगाय प्रतिदिशमनिशं ... ... ॥

१६। यः॥ श्रीदुर्गदामनृपतेर दितिरि वासी दतिप्रिया भार्या ... ...
... ... नी देवी या वच्छिका ख्याता। दुग्धाब्धे-
वीचिचक्रकमभरितमहा ... ... ॥

१८। दामेरो राष्ट्रिमाद्देवजलधिपरिकरादा सुवेलात्सुवेलात्।
... ... यतुवदधिपजन्मो सव।
भूतधात्रीं विद्वान्सः शासनाय प्र ... ... ॥

२०। टकान्पाटयन्ति ... । ... सभ्य [क्वा] धनकल्पना प्रवि-
वसध्देतो ... ... हादिसमवादोवरहित
यत्ते खसिध्दे स्थिते स्वच्छन्दप्रत ... ... ॥

२२। प्रज्ञाभिमानाय समुष्टो यः समरे जयप्रविदिशं वादे
च ... ... श्रीदेवराजस्य ... देवराज
समहातेः ... यक्षिकेत्यभवद्भार्या ... ... ॥

२४ । पौराणीव कथा ख्याता सद्वृत्ता यावनी शुभा धर्मप्रवाहा गङ्गेव ...
... ... जिता । मदतकोअसो देवी जननी
जननक्षितेः । पूर्णा सन्ध्येव ... ... ।

२६ । सः जयकारिता । सावीजनम् प्रमेष्ठं पुत्रं रत्नसमप्रभं । ... ...
... ... वत्सदामान मूर्च्छितम् । मातात्कुञ्जरंकु
भदारव रत्नकार ... ... ।

२८ । सत्समनस्कसख्याव कनकप्रख्या तकीर्तिंवपि ... । ... साकाश-
दाति ... ... प्रोतख्यातसकुक्षितेयंख्यात्मैव ...
... रत्नाकु बेषुभिमुखं संदृश्य ... ... ।

३० । न्यःामा ... पुत्रो भूपस्यः ... प्राज्यप्रतापवां वसिवव्यव ...
... ... क्षितः । तयेतत्कारितं चित्रं चित्रकर्म्मोज्ज्वलं
महत् । सय ... ... ।

३२ । मलिविद्विषः ... । ... यावद्भुवाभिरामस्य ... ...
स्यातु देव्या भवतु निर्म्मलं । सद्वृत्तास ... ... ।

३४ । गयततनयः ... विरचितवाम्रा [गमिन] ... स ... ...
... ... मद्दटकपौत्रेण ... सता ... सुतेन ...
... ... ।

३६ । यस्याल्प्रशस्तिरेष ... ... समुत्कीर्णा ... ...
स्तुतिप्रपंचरमवी ... ... ।

In his brief remarks the Pandit notes that—

"it contains no date, but the alphabet appears to belong to the 8th century or somewhat after the date of the Jhâlrapâtan inscription. He then gives the following genealogy of the Surasena dynasty extending over seven kings:—

1.—Phakka, married Deyikâ.
2.—Kula-abhata (son), married Drangeni.
3.—Ajita (son), married Apsarapriyâ.
4.—Durgabhaṭa (son), married Vachchhalikâ.
5.—Durgadâman (son), married Vachchhikâ.
6.—Devarâja (son), married Yajnikâ.
7.—Vatsadâman (son).

The Queen Vachchlikâ "built a temple to Vishnu, which it seems to have been the object of this inscription to record."

If we place Vatsadâman in A.D. 750 to 775, the head of the family, Phakka, will date from A.D. 600, reckoning twenty-five years to each generation. As none of the names agree with those of the Yadava princes of Bayâna, as recorded by the bards, it seems probable that these chiefs of Kâman, or Kadamba-vana, were only a branch of the famous Surasenas of Mathura.

XVIII.—BAYÂNA.

Of Bayâna Abul Fazl says—"This town is the burial place of many illustrious men."[1] This statement is no doubt true, as there are great numbers of tombs scattered about the neighbourhood of the city. But, alas for fame, it is almost as fleeting as life itself; for, although there are hundreds of tombs, yet only one name is remembered at the present day. This one name is that of Abubakr Kandhâri, who lies under a simple slab in a small enclosure to the west of the town. There are two slabs placed side by side, each with a flowered border, and some sentences from the Korân in the middle. Apparently these slabs are of later date; and I have no doubt that they have been brought from other tombs, and arranged in their present position. Of Abubakr himself the people know nothing, but they are content with repeating the following verse, which is in everybody's mouth :—

> Igâreh so tihatr, Phâg tīj, Rabiwâr,
> Bijayamandargarh torhiya Abubakr Kandhâr.

"In 1173, on the 3rd of Phâlgun, Sunday. Bijayamandargarh (*i.e.*, the fort of Bayâna) was taken by Abubakr Kandhâr."

This version was given to me by two Bhâts, as well as by others. But there are slight variations, as Mr. Carlleyle gives the verse as follows :[2]

> Gyâreh so tihatr Subh Somdinwâr.
> Bijehmandargarh toryon Abubakr Kandhâr.

In this version, however, the name of the month is omitted.

Some say that Abubakr accompanied Masud Sâlar, the nephew of Mâhmud of Ghazni, on his fabulous expedition to

[1] Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, Vol. II, p. 37.
[2] Archæological Survey, Vol. VI, p. 55.

India in A.H. 421. But this date is equivalent to A.D. 1027, and Samvat 1084, which is nearly 100 years too early for Samvat 1173. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we conclude that Abubakr Kandhâri accompanied Muhammad bin Sâm and Kutb-ud-din Aibak in A.H. 592, on the expedition when they captured Bayâna. This date would be equivalent to A.D. 1196 and Samvat 1253, and we might then read :—

Bârah so tripan, Phâg tij Rabiwâr.

Strange to say the 3rd of Phâlgan badi in Samvat 1253 was a Sunday. I look upon this coincidence, however, as a mere chance. It seems more probable that the date may be a true one, handed down by tradition, and that we should read Saka Samvat instead of Vikrama Samvat, in which case S. 1173 would be equivalent to A.D. 1251. Now, in this very year, on the 12th November 1251 A.D., the Emperor of Delhi, Nâseruddin Mâhmud, accompanied by his vazir Ulugh Khân, started on his expedition against the famous Hindû Rajâ *Châhada Deva.* We know that this active and able prince had regained possession of Ranthambor and Narwar, and although Bayâna is not mentioned in the account of the campaign, it seems highly probable that it also must have fallen into his hands. In the inscription of the Kazion-ki-Masjid, the repairer, named Abdul Malik, calls himself the son of *Abibakr Bukhâri.* As the date is A.H. 705, the father would certainly have been living during the time of the campaign, and might therefore be identified with the traditional Abubakr Kandhâri.

Bayâna is situated 90 miles due east from Jaypur, 100 miles due south from Delhi, and 30 miles to the south-south-west of Bharatpur. Its old name is said to have been Santipur, and the middle part of the town, now called *Bhitari-bâhar*, is pointed out as the original site. But in two of the Sanskrit inscriptions the name of the town is given as *Pathayâmpuri;* and this I believe to have been the original name of the place, and also of the present name of Bayâna. For by the simple elision of the *th Payâmpuri*, or Bayânpur, might easily be shortened to Bayâna. Some of the

early Muhammadan writers spell the name *Bhayâna*, but the present form of Bayâna is the only one found in the inscriptions.

Above the town on the south-west rises the fortress of Vijayamandargarh, which is attributed to Vijaya Pâla, one of the Jâdon Rajas, who was reigning in Samvat 1100, or A.D. 1043, according to a short Sanskrit inscription still existing in the town. The fortress of Vijayamandar stands on the eastern end of a short range of hills, which runs nearly perpendicular to the sandstone ranges of Karauli, Rûphâs, and Fatehpûr-Sikri. Between them flows the clear stream of the Gambhir river, which at some former period is said to have washed the foot of the Bijaygarh hill.

At the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India Bayâna was the capital of the Jâdon or Yâduvansi Râjpûts, who of course claim descent from Krishna, as I have already related in another place. Bayâna had the honour of being attacked by Muhammad bin Sâm in person, accompanied by Kutb-ud-din Aibak. The Râjâ named *Ku-Pâl*, or *Kuwar Pâl*, as given by Elliot, retired to *Tahangarh*, where he was followed by the conquerors. The government of the country was given to Bahâ-ud-din Tughril; but, "as he and his army did not like to reside in the fort of Thangar, he founded the city of Sultânkot, in the territory of Bayâna, and made it the place of his residence."[1] Sultânkot was the Muhammadan name of the new city of Bayâna, and the place was afterwards known by the double name of Bayâna-Sultânkot.[2]

Apparently Bahâ-ud-din Tughril died before his rival Kutb-ud-din Aibak, for he is not mentioned amongst the Maliks of Shams-ud-din Iltitmish. And after his death the fort of Thangar must have fallen into the hands of the Hindûs, as Minhâj-i-Sirâj records the capture of the fort of Thangar as one of Shams-ud-din's conquests.[3]

In A.H. 650, or A.D. 1252, during the reign of Nâsir-

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. II, p. 304.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 368.
[3] Raverty's Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, p. 628.

ud-din Mâhmud, Bayâna was under the goverment of Kutlugh Khân. During the strong reigns of Balban and Ala-ud-din Khalji, and of Tughlak Shah and his son Muhammad, which covered just one century, Bayâna must have remained in the undisturbed possession of the Muhammadans. During the next half century Firoz Tughlak spent some time in Bayâna, on his way to the south. But after his death and the general break-up of the Delhi Empire, Bayâna fell into the hands of a powerful family, who continued to hold it, sometimes as tributaries, and sometimes as independent rulers, for nearly a century, or from about A.H. 780 to 870. The following notices of this family are derived from inscriptions, as well as from the historians :—

In A.H. 801, or A.D. 1399, Bayâna was in the possession of Shams Khan Auhadi. Ikbâl Khân marched against him and defeated him. But Shams took refuge in the fort, and escaped with the loss of two elephants. Again in 803 = 1401 A.D. on Ikbâl's advance Shams Khân waited upon him. He was favourably received, but on the march towards Kanauj Ikbâl became suspicious of him and had him assassinated.[1] Ferishta calls him Shams Khân Ahdy according to Briggs.[2]

In A.H. 819, or A.D. 1416, Khizr Khân sent a great army against Bayâna and Gwalior, when Malik Karim-ul-Mulk, brother of Shams Khân, gave the invading general a grand reception. Ferishta adds that Karim had succeeded his brother, which is most probable. His rule, therefore, must have begun in A.H. 803, or A.D. 1401. Karim-ul-Mulk must have been the title of Auhad Khân.[3]

In A.H. 827, or A.D. 1423, when Sultân Mubârak Sayid was on his march against Gwalior, the son of Auhad Khan, Amir of—

"Bayâna, who had treacherously murdered his uncle Mubârak Khân, rebelled against the Sultân, and destroying the fort retired to the top of the hill. His Majesty sat down with his army at the foot of the hill, and after a time the son of Auhad Khân being reduced to

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 38.
[2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 498.
[3] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 48.

extremities, paid his revenue and tribute, and placed his neck in the collar of obedience."[1]

Again in A.H. 830, or A.D. 1426, Mubârak Shâh marched against Bayâna when—

"Muhammad Khân, son of Auhad Khân, ruler of Bayâna, retired to the top of the hill, and for sixteen days kept up his residence. Some of his men joined the Sultân, and when he could no longer hold out, he came forth from the fort in the month of Rabi-ul-Akhir, with a rope round his neck, and made his submission. The horses and arms and goods of sorts which were in the fort he offered as tribute. By order of the Sultân his family and dependants were brought out of the fortress and sent to Delhi."

Bayâna was given to Mukbil Khân.[1] Muhammad Khân afterwards escaped from Delhi with his family to Mewât.

"There he learned that Mukbil Khân (the governor) had marched with his army towards Mahâwan, leaving Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfa in the fort, and the town empty (of soldiers). Muhammad Khân seized the opportunity, and, being supported by several zamindârs of Bayâna, he went there with a small force. Most of the people of the town and country joined him. Unable to hold the fort, Malik Khair-ud-din capitulated and went to Delhi.

"Mubârak Shâh then gave Bayâna to Malik Mubâriz, and sent him against Muhammad Khân. The rebel shut himself up in the fort, and Mubâriz took possession of the country and began to manage it. Muhammad Khân then left a party of his adherents in the fort, while he himself escaped, and with all speed went to join Sultân Ibrâhim Sharki."[2]

After Ibrâhim Sharki's retreat, Mubârak Shâh proceeded to Bayâna, where Muhammad had shut himself up in the fort—

"The Sultan invested the fort, which was very lofty and strong, and was deemed impregnable. But the garrison was unable to make a successful defence: their hands were powerless against the assailants, and their feet were unable to flee, so they were compelled to capitulate and ask for mercy. His Majesty, full of royal mercy and compassion for Musalmâns, forbore to punish Muhammad Khân, and granted him forgiveness.[3] Malik Mâhmud was appointed to command the fort of Bayâna, and to manage the territory, and that Ikta and all its dependencies were placed under his charge."

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 60. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 62, 63. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 65.

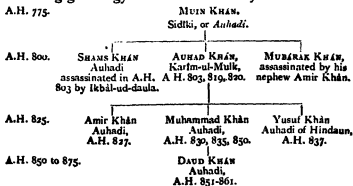
In A.H. 835, A.D. 1431, Imâd-ul-Mulk was sent with a "strong force to Bayâna and Gwalior, with orders to punish the rebels and infidels of those parts."[1] Here the rebels most probably refer to Bayâna, and the infidels to Gwalior. Muhammad Khân must, therefore, have recovered Bayâna.

After the murder of Mubârak Shâh in A.H. 837 — 1433 A.D., his minister Sarwar-ul-Mulk gave Bayâna to Sidhi Pâla, one of the murderers, who sent a black slave named Râün with a large force to take possession of the place. He was opposed and defeated by *Yusuf Khân Auhadi*, who cut off his head and suspended it over the gate of the city.[2]

In A.H. 851, A.D. 1447, on the death of Sayid Muhammad Shâh, Bayâna was in the possession of Dâud Khân Auhâdi.[3]

Amongst the inscriptions collected at Bayâna I find the following referring to members of the Auhadi family—

Auhad Khân, A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417.
Muhammad Khân, Samvat 1503 = A.D. 1446 (= A.H. 850).
Dâud Khân, A.H. 861 = A.D. 1457.

From these inscriptions we learn that Dâud Khân was the son of Muhammad Khân, the grandson of Auhâd Khân and the great-grandson of Muïn Khân. For nearly a century the government of Bayâna remained in the hands of this one family. From these inscriptions, compared with notices in Ferishta and Târikh-i-Mubârak Shâhi, I have made out the following genealogy of the Auhadi family—

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 74. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 81. [3] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 541.

The family name of Auhadi was not derived from Auhad Khân, the son of Muin Khân, as the father himself is called Auhadi in the Minâr inscription, and so also are the two brothers of Auhad, named Shams Khân and Mubârak Khân. In Briggs' translation of Ferishta the family name is generally written *Ahdy*, and in one instance it is changed to *Lodi*, while the name of Auhad Khân himself is given as *Wahid.* Auhad Khân seems to have been the most noted member of the family, as he is called *Khân-i-Kabir*, or the " Great Khân," in the Taleti Mosque inscription.

Muïn Khân, Sidiki, or Auhadi, was most probably the Governor of Bayâna under Firoz Tughlak. On his death his eldest son *Shams Khân* Auhadi succeeded to the government, but was assassinated by Ikbâl-ud-daula in A.H. 803. His younger brother *Auhad Khân* then succeeded, with the title of Karim-ul Mulk. He is mentioned in A.H. 803 and 819, and in the earliest inscription of the family in the fort on the Taleti Masjid, dated in A.H. 820. He opposed Khizr Sayid, and probably continued to rule until A.H. 830, when his son *Muhammad Khân* Auhadi is found in possession.

Muhammad opposed Mubârak Sayid, but without success, and after submission was imprisoned at Delhi. But he managed to escape, and on his return to Bayâna was able to turn out the King of Delhi's governor. Shortly after that he appears to have made terms with Mubârak Sayid, and to have ruled in peace, until A.H. 850, when he is mentioned in the inscription of the Gindoria well as the actual ruler "*Sri Muhammad Khân Râjye Vartmâne.*" He must have died shortly afterwards, as his son Dâüd Khân was in possession of Bayâna in A.H. 851.

In A.H. 850 Muhammad Sayid, the King of Delhi, marched to recover Bayâna; but owing to a false report of the advance of the Sharki King he returned.[1] In the following year, 851, Dâüd Khân is stated to have held Bayâna as an independent principality.[2] The inscription over the doorway of the Fort Minâr, which is dated ten years later, in 861 A.H.,

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 540. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol I, p. 541.

gives the names of Dâüd Khân and the King Nâsir-ud-din Muhammad. Now, the only sovereign of this name at that date was Muhammad Shâh Sharki of Jaunpur, who reigned from A.H. 861 to 863. It is certain, therefore, that he must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Sharki King, as a defence against the King of Delhi. This act, no doubt, saved him for a time. But in A.H 878, I find that the Auhadi family had altogether passed away, as Bahlol Lodi, on the advance of Husen Shâh Sharki, offered to cede the district of Bayâna to Mâhmud Khalji of Malwa as the price of his assistance. At that time, therefore, Bayâna certainly belonged to the King of Delhi.

Shortly afterwards I find that the governor of Bayâna, named Ahmad Khân Jalwâni, deserted his master, and took the side of the Sharki King, and both struck coin and read the Khutba in his name.[1] He must, however, have returned to his allegiance after the defeat of Husen Shâh by Bahlol Lodi and the annexation of the Sharki kingdom to the Delhi Empire; for his son Sultân Ashraf, or Sharf, Jalwâni succeeded him in the government, which he still held in A.H. 897, or A.D. 1491, when he was ordered by Sikandar Lodi to make it over to Umar Khân Shirwâni. Sultân Sharf shut the gates of the fort and held out against Sikandar himself. But he was soon obliged to surrender, and Bayâna was given to Khân Khânân Farmuli.[2] Of his time there is a Nâgari inscription attached to a Baoli in the fort of Vijaya-mandargarh, which is dated in Samvat 1553 and Saka 1418, both equivalent to A.D. 1496 and A.H. 902. He died A.H. 907, A D. 1501, and was succeeded by Khawâs Khân.

In A.H. 922, A.D. 1516, Sikandar Lodi proceeded to Bayâna, where he met the governor of Ranthambor, who had promised to give up that fort to him. But the project fell through, and the king returned to Agra.

Ibrahim Lodi succeeded in A.H. 923, and in 926, or A.D. 1520, a Mâzina or Minâr for calling to prayer was built close to the present Ukha Mandar, during the government of Nizâm

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 556. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 569.

Khân, as recorded in the inscription over the doorway. He was still in charge at the time of Bâbar's invasion; and he at first joined the party against the Mughals, and defeated his own brother Alim Khân, governor of Tahangarh, who had taken Bâbar's side. But on the near advance of Râna Sanga, he surrendered Bayâna to Bâbar, and was provided for by a jâgir in the Doâb.[1]

During the reign of Humâyun, 937—945 A.H., his cousin Muhammad Zamân Mirza was imprisoned in Bayâna.

During the reign of Sher Shah, A.H. 945—952, a division of the army was stationed at Bayâna, with a garrison of 500 matchlock-men in the fort.[2]

After the death of Sher Shah Bayâna was given by Islâm Shâh to his elder brother Adil Khân, while the governorship was placed in the hands of the famous general Khawâs Khân. During the reign of Islâm Shâh, Bayâna was the scene of the heretical teaching of Shekh Ilahi, who became a Mahdawi, or follower of Mahdi, and took up his residence outside the city. Khawâs Khân at first embraced his tenets, but afterwards became disgusted with him, and gave him up. Shekh Ilahi was tried two or three times by assemblies of learned doctors and at last died under the lash in A.H. 955.[3]

After the unsuccessful rebellion of Khawâs Khân, Bayâna was given to Ghâzi Khân Sur, whose son Ibrahim Shâh Sur sought refuge in Bayâna in A.H. 962, after his defeat by Sikandar Shâh Sur. The fort was then beseiged by the troop of Muhammad Adil under the famous Baniya general Himu, who after four months was obliged to raise the siege to oppose the return of Humâyun to Delhi

In the following year, A.H. 963, Bayâna was annexed to Delhi by the Emperor Akbar, and from that time it became a permanent part of the Mughal dominions as part of the Subah of Agra.

At the break-up of the Mughal Empire during the last century, Bayâna fell into the hands of the Jâts, and with them

[1] Erskine's Life of Bâber, Vol. I, p. 452.
[2] Tarikh-i-shah in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. V, p. 416.
[3] Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 138.

it still remains as a part of the Hindû kingdom of Bharatpûr. The grand old fort still remains with its picturesque gates and lofty towers, but all life has departed from it. Instead of the garrison of five hundred matchlock-men, which held the place in the time of Sher Shâh, its only occupants now are one Gujar Kilâhdâr, on Rs. 50 a month, who keeps one pony and two servants.

JHÂLAR BAOLI.

The Jhâlar Baoli is situated 2 miles to the north of the city of Bayâna. The Baoli is a reservoir of water 79 feet square, with numerous flights of steps on all four sides leading down to the water. In the dry season it is only 75 feet square when the lower flights of steps are uncovered. It derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe (*jhâlar*). The whole building is 127½ feet square outside, with an entrance at each of the four corners, placed diagonally. Each entrance consists of a small domed room, with a flight of steps leading down to the open terrace near the water level. Outside the building presents a mere blank wall. Against the wall on the inside there is a pillared cloister 8 feet 8 inches wide, with sixteen pillars on each side, which runs all round. The pillars are 8 feet high and 13 inches square. Inside this cloister there is an open terrace 7 feet 10 inches broad. The whole is built of red stone. Over the doors of the Baoli, there are two inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, both dated in A H. 718, or A.D. 1318, during the reign of Kutb-ud-din Mubârak Shâh. The upper line of the Arabic inscription has entirely peeled away. Parts of the walls have fallen down, but most of the work is still in good condition in spite of its great age.

This fine Baoli was built by the same person as the Ukha Masjid, one Kâfur Sultâni, who from his name was probably one of the royal eunuchs during the reign of Ala-ud-din Muhammad, the father of Mubârak Shâh. The great Malik Kâfur, the conqueror of Southern India, was killed two years before the date of this building, and four years before the date of the Ukha Masjid. It is possible, however, that he

might have begun both of these works, and that they were finished after his death.

Each inscription originally consisted of three lines, but the upper line of the longer one has crumbled away.

The following are the texts and translations of the inscriptions:[1]

Over the North-east Doorway.

غوث الاسلام والمسلمين وارث خلافت داود سليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله

مباركشاه سلطان بن السلطان خلد الله خالفت العبدالراجي ابي رحمة

لرباني كافور السلطاني تقبل الله منه في سنه ثمان عشر و سبعماية ؛

(Upper line lost.)

"The helper of Islâm and of Musalmâns, heir of the Khalifa, of David and Solomon, Abi-ul-Muzafar Khalifat-ulla, Mubârak Shâh Sultân, son of a Sultân. May God prolong his reign! The slave, hopeful of the mercy of God, Kâfur Sultâni. May God accept his prayer! In the year 718."

Over the South-east Doorway.

در زمان ملك سلطان الزمانه قطب دين

مالک دار الخلافه شهريار بحروبر

بندهٔ درگاه او كافور سلطاني بگفت

تا شد اين مائين بنا با اين لطافت درگذر

چهار دريا چهار گنبذ بنگر و تاريخ آن

سال و ماه از سال هجرت هفصد و هيزده شمر

"In the reign of the Emperor of the world, the head of religion, the master of the capital (dâr-ul Khalâfat), ruler of the earth and the sea, the slave of his Court, Kâfur Sultâni, built this sweet-water reservoir by the roadside. Behold its four doors and its four domes, and calculate its date in the Hijra year 718."

[1] See Plate XV for facsimiles of them.

UKHA MASJID.

One of the largest buildings in Bayâna is an old masjid, now called *Nohara,* or the "cattle yard," because cattle are now tethered in it. It is also used for storing *bhûsa*, or straw. I have ventured to call it the Ukha Masjid for the sake of distinction, as the adjoining building which touches it, and is of about the same size, is called the Ukha Mandir, or "Temple of Ukha," although it also was originally a masjid. Both buildings are chiefly made of old Hindû materials, and now that time has restored them to a Hindû government, one has been turned into a temple, and the other into a cattle-pen. Ukha is the name of the daughter of the famous Bâna Asur.

The *Nohara*, or Ukha Masjid, retains its original Arabic inscription over the entrance doorway of the court. It is still generally legible, although in bad condition, and records the erection of the masjid during the reign of Kutb-ud-din Mubârak in A.H. 720, or A.D. 1320. The whole building occupies a space of 124 feet in length from east to west, by 74 feet from north to south.[1] The Masjid proper consists of five rows of Hindû pillars forming four aisles. As in the Kâman Mosque, the north and south sides of the cloisters are different, the latter being a single aisle with a blank wall, while the former has also a raised terrace, 8 feet high, with two rows of short pillars, 6½ feet high, forming a long aisle, open to the outside, as well as to the inside. This raised terrace is continued on each side of the entrance gateway with three rows of short pillars, and one row of tall pillars inside. The two middle pillars of this eastern aisle are large round shafts with the Hindû ornaments cut off, but with an open cusped Hindû arch still in position between them. These two pillars must once have formed the entrance to a Hindû temple. The walls are built throughout of squared stones.

The inscription over the archway of the entrance gate

[1] See Plate XIII for a plan of the Masjid.

is very much injured; but the following has been read with some certainty:[1]

امربنا هذه العمارة المبارك الشريفه اللطيفه في عهد السلطان العالم
العادل المعظم مولى ملوك الشرق العرب والعجم • هذالمساجد اسلام —
الجود براكرام ظل‌الله فى‌الدهر قطب الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام
والمسلمين مغيث الملوک والسلاطين وارث خلافت داود سليمان ابي‌المظفر
خليفت‌الله مبارک شاه ٬

السلطان بن‌السلطان خلدالله سلطانه ملكه امره العبد الراجي ابي
رحمة الغفار كافور السلطاني في شهرخرداد في سنه عشرين وسبعماية ٬

"The construction of this holy, grand, and fine building was ordered in the reign of the king of the world, the just and most high chief of the rulers of the east, of Arabia, Persia, * * * master of gifts and honours, the shadow of God in the world, the head of the kingdom and of religion, the supporter of Islâm and of the Moslems, defender of rulers and emperors, the successor to the Khalifats of David and Solomon, Abi-ul-Muzaffar, the viceregent of God, Mubârak Shâh Sultân, son of a Sultân. May God preserve his authority and his kingdom * * * his slave, expectant of the mercy of God, Kâfûr Sultâni. In the month of Khurdâd in the year 720 A.H."

Standing outside the Nohara Masjid, there is a loose slab containing a portion of a long inscription of Ala-ud-din Muhammad in the ornamental Tughra character—see Plate XIV. It is specially remarkable for its arrangement in pairs at equal distances of all the letters that possess long upright strokes, such as *alif, lâm, toi, soï*, &c., whilst a few of the shorter letters are lengthened to make them correspond. The inscription consists of portions of two lines, each wanting both beginning and end. The greater portion is, however, quite clear—

1—(a) buul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah us Sultân. Khuld allah mulkahu wa Sultânahu * *

2—Abuul * * * wa bâni haza ul Khair ul Abd-ul-Zaïf (?) Muhamman Rasul-ullah * *

[1] See Plate XV for a facsimile of this inscription.

UKHA MINAR.

At 32 feet to the north of the north-east corner of the Ukha Mandir, there is a *Mâzina*, or Minâr, from the top of which the *Muazzin* would call the *izân* to summon the faithful to prayers. The tower is round, and well built of cut stone, but it is perfectly plain, the entrance doorway being the only break in the smooth monotony of its surface. It is 41 feet in height, with a base diameter of 27½ feet, and a top diameter of 26 feet. The entrance doorway, 4¾ feet wide, points to the south-west, and leads by a circular staircase, 6 feet in width, to the top of the tower. The doorway has a pointed arch, filled with some inscriptions from the Korân, which are well cut and in good preservation. Just above the door there is a long inscription of nine lines of verse in a double column. The third line gives the name of Shâh Ibrâhim bin Iskandar Bahlol Shâh, with the date of A.H. 926, which was the 4th year of Ibrâhim's reign.

در زمان دولت داراي دوران اوان

داور جمشيد عصر و خصروي رستم نشان

آنكه از راي ميزش روي عالم راضياست

وآنكه ازخلق 'طيفش هشت حو شبو ضميران

شاه ابراهيم بن اسكندر بهلوک شاه

كش سزد ترغاني از خاقان دهم نوشيروان

مي شود اجرا خيري حسبة لله زان

باد راضي حق تعالى باد خيرش جاودان

او بنا كرده منارة ازپى اعلا صوت

از براي گفتن بانگ نماز هر زمان

بد با مرامر مامور ظل الله دهر

مسند عالي نظامخان مجاهد خان بدان

در شهور ستة و عشرين زنهصد بد فزون
باليقين از هجرت پيغامبر آخر زمان
چون نبشتن چند بيتي بهر آن تاريخ نغز
حامد مسكين زبانش شد روان زين سان ازان
بانقور طبع كرده است بوالعجب اين ترجمه
پور قارون گشت مسكين بنگراي شاه جهان

This fulsome set of verses is not worth translating at length. Its facts are the following :—

"In the reign of the ruler of the world (&c., &c.,) Ibrâhim Shâh, son of Sikandar Bahlol Shâh (&c., &c.) this Minâr was built for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayer. It was finished by His Highness Nizâm Khân, the son of Mujâhid Khân, by order of the shadow of God (the king) in the year of the Hijra 926."

On the floor of the Minâr a mason has carved the date of Samvat 1574, which began on the 23rd March 1517 A.D. This date corresponds with the Hijra year 923, which began on Saturday, 24th January 1517. But, as Sikandar Lodi did not die until Sunday, the 7th Zilkada A.H. 923, or 21st November A.D. 1517, the mason's date of Samvat 1574 most probably refers to the end of the year, or shortly after the death of Sikandar.

The Nizâm Khân mentioned in the inscription was still Governor of Bayâna in A.H. 933, when he purposed to join the confederacy under Râna Sangrâm and Hasan Khân of Mewât in opposing Bâber. He had a force of 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, and his opportune change of mind gave the famous fortress of Bayâna into the hands of Bâber. In consideration of this timely service Bâber bestowed on him a parganah of 20 lakhs in the Doâb. The 20 lakhs were, of course, *tankas*, of which 20 went to the rupee, so that the *Jâgir* was worth one lakh of rupees, or £10,000 a year, instead of £ 5,000, as stated by Erskine.[1]

[1] See Bâber's Memoirs, p. 345, and Erskine's Life of Bâber, Vol. I, p. 442.

KAZIPARA MASJID.

The Kâzipâra Masjid is a small building, only 31½ feet long by 15½ feet broad inside. As it is open at both ends, it has probably lost some of its length. It consists of two aisles formed by 3 rows of very fine Hindû pillars, 10 feet 1 inch in height. There are at present six pillars in each row. All the outer ones, and the two middle ones of the centre row, are round, while the remaining ten pillars are square, with the angles indented. The round pillars are very handsome, with large spreading circular capitals. Their shafts are 3 feet 8½ inches in circumference, or upwards of 14 inches in diameter. Of the back wall only the foundations now remain. There is no inscription, and the people know nothing about the builder. Kâzipâra simply means the "ward," or division, of the town in which some Kâzi lived, or which was established by him.

FAUJDARI MASJID.

Like the last, the origin of this building is quite unknown, but as the Faujdâr Ganga Baksh now lives close by, it is known by his title. It consists of three rows of Hindû pillars, 7 feet 3 inches high, which form two low aisles. The pillars are carved, but there is nothing of special note about the building.

SAYIDPARA MASJID.

This is another small masjid of two aisles, formed by three rows of six Hindû pillars in each row. Over the mihrâb in the back wall there is an almost obliterated inscription. The round pillars are upwards of 18 inches in diameter.

MUFTION-KI-MASJID.

This is a very small masjid of only eight Hindû pillars, and an inscription containing sentences from the Korân. The Muftipâra is the "ward," or quarter, of the city in which the Muftis, or "lawyers," lived.

KAZION-KI-MASJID.

A small masjid of six pillars, called the Kâzis' Mosque, has a small court, with an entrance door, over which is fixed a very fine inscription of the time of Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khalji, dated in A.H. 705. The following is the text and translation of this inscription, which is written in Arabic throughout:[1]

قال النبي عليه السلام بني مسجد الله تعالى ولو بجبل مفحص قطاه

نبي الله له بيتا فى الجنة بحكم اهل الخبر بني وجدد عمارة هذا المسجد والبير

* * نبي ابدع حالة بعد طمسها في عهد سلطنت اعلى سلاطين العرب والعجم

صاحب التاج والخاتم ظل الله في العالم علا الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام

المسلمين المسعود * سكندر الثاني مجير اهل الامان ابي المظفر محمد شاه

لسلطان لازالت اعلام دولة منصورة منشورة اضعف عباد الله الباري عبدالملك

ابن ابي بكر البخاري الملقب بمغيث الحاكم بجبل الخطه تقبل الله منه

اول الغرة من المحرم سنة خمس و سبعماية

"The prophet has said [may the peace of God be upon him] who builds a mosque for the great God, even by excavating the side of a hill (?), for him God will prepare a place in Paradise. It is related that this mosque and well were built * * * * (and were repaired) in good style, after they have become dilapidated, in the reign of the greatest of the emperors of Arabia and Ajam, the master of the crown and seal, the shadow of God on earth, the splendour of the world and of religion, the supporter of Islám and of Moslems, Ul-masûd, a second Alexander, the protector of the helpless, Abu-ul-Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh, the Sultân, by the weakest of the creatures of God, Abdul Malik, son of Abu-bakr of Bukhâra, known by the title of Mughis-ul-Hâkim, in the hill region (Jabal-ul-Khitah). May God accept him. On the 1st Muharram, in the year 705 A.H. =1305 A.D."

Close by there is a long loose slab, with an inscription, dated in Shawâl 1080 A.H., by Kâzi Rafi-ud-din Muhammad,

[1] See Plate XIV for a facsimile of this inscription.

which records the building of a Madrassa during the reign of Shâh Alamgir Adil, more commonly known as Aurangzeb.

BHITARÍ-BÁHARI MASJID.

Bhitarí Báhari is the name of the ward, or mohalla, in which this masjid stands. It probably means that the ward was partly within and partly without the city walls. The masjid is a small one, being only 24 feet square; but it is one of some interest, as it is built entirely of Hindû materials, and possesses a Sanskrit inscription dated in Samvat 1100, or A.D. 1043. It consists of three aisles formed by four rows of pillars, with four pillars in each row. The central opening is wider than the side openings Portions of the Hindú roof still remain over the middle compartments. The back and side walls are still standing In front of the mosque to the east there are two lines of pillars, six in each line, still *in situ*. These most probably once formed part of a cloister of the courtyard in which the mosque stood. Nothing whatever is known about the builder of the masjid.

TOMB OF ABUBAKR-KANDHÂRI.

I have already related the story of Abubakr Kandhâri, to whom the present inhabitants refer the Muhammadan conquest of Bayâna. The date given is 1173 of Samvat, or A.D. 1116, which is just 80 years earlier than the actual capture by Muhammad bin Sâm in A.H. 592, or A.D. 1196. If, instead of *igârah so tihatr*, or 1173, we might read *bârah-so tirpan*, or 1253 Samvat — 1196, the date of Abubakr would agree with the true time of the conquest. The tomb itself consists of a couple of inscribed slabs laid side by side on the ground. Apparently they have belonged to two separate tombs of a later date. The inscriptions consist of sentences from the Korân, surrounded by flowered borders. The spot is considered holy, and is surrounded by a brick wall forming an enclosure 50 feet square.

About 50 yards to the east there is a very handsome 12-pillared tomb, 19 feet square, covered by a Hindû dome of overlapping stones. The pillars are 16 inches square, and

the whole building is still in very good order. There are two tombstones under the dome, and several more outside surrounding the platform, on which the pillared building stands. From its careful and solid execution it must have been the tomb of some person of consequence; but there is nothing about it to afford even a guess as to the owner.

At a short distance to the west of Abubakr's tomb, and close to the high road, there is a substantial tomb, 29 feet 9 inches square inside, and 37 feet 3 inches outside. The walls are 3 feet 9 inches thick; but the dome is gone. It is said to be the tomb of a certain Khân-Khânân, who was probably the governor, whom I have already mentioned as having died in A.H. 907 = A.D. 1501-02.

To the south of the tomb, on the side of the road leading to Sikandra and Hindaun, there is a very handsome tomb, built entirely of red sandstone. It is a square of 29 feet 3 inches outside, with three openings on each side. One of these openings forms the entrance, but the others are filled with stone trellises. Inside there are five tombstones; but nothing whatever is known of the names of the occupants.

There are many tombs scattered about the fields on all sides of the town, several of which have inscriptions containing sentences from the Korân. Many of these tombs are neatly built, but none of them are remarkable either for their workmanship or their size.

GINDORIA WELL.

In Abdul Fazl's account of Bayâna I found the following passage—

"Here is a well, with the water of which they knead the sugar into a paste like flour, and from it into cakes, which they call *gandora;* and it is carried to great distances as a rarity. It cannot be made with any other water."[1]

This well still exists, and is still famous for the goodness of its water. But the sweetmeat is no longer manufactured. It is of course well known, as it is common all over Northern

[1] Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, Vol. II, p. 37.

India, and, no doubt, it gave its name to the Bayâna well. The well itself is of square form, 12 feet on each side. Inside there is an inscription much injured by constant wetting. It consists of one line of Persian at the top, with nine lines of Nâgari below. In the former I read the words "*Maramat Kanânid*" at the beginning, and at the end, "*Fi ahad dolat Masnad-âli Muhammad Khân*," with the date of *Khamsin wa Samânmiah*, or A.H. 850. In the latter I find the date of Samvat 1503, followed by the words *Sri Muhammad Khân râjye vartamâne*, "during the prosperous rule of Muhammad Khân." Samvat 1503, or A.D. 1446, corresponds with the Hijra year 850.

I have not succeeded in reading the whole of the Sanskrit inscription, nor have I found any one to assist me at Simla. As I have given a photograph of the inscription in the accompanying Plate,[1] the text need not be repeated here. It records the repair of the well by the Thâkur Amara Sinha in Samvat 1503, on Saturday, the 9th of the waning moon of Ashâdha, in Pathâyâ (Bayâna) during the prosperous rule of Sri Muhammad Khân.

XIX.—SIKANDRA.

The suburb of Sikandra is situated 3 miles to the south of the present city of Bayâna, and close by the foot of the eastern entrance of Vijayamandargarh. Less than two centuries ago the houses and tombs and gardens of Bayâna must have extended right up to Sikandra. But only the tombs and a few masjids now remain to show the former extent of Bayâna in this direction. In the midst of the ruins to the east of the fort there still exist a small village which preserves the name of Sikandra.

To the north of the village on a high mound there is a masjid of red sandstone in fair preservation. The building itself is 53 feet long by 19½ feet broad inside, with seven openings in front, and two rows of pillars, forming two aisles. The roof is flat. Eighty-six feet in front of the masjid there is a rather picturesque entrance with a small domed room on

each side. On one of the jambs of the doorway there is a short Nâgari inscription, dated in Samvat 1577, or A.D. 1520. As this record is placed upside down, I conclude that the jambs must once have formed the pillar of some Hindû temple, and that the building of the mosque must be considerably later than A.D. 1520.

To the south of the village there is a similar doorway with its flanking domes leading also to a red stone masjid with a flat roof. It possesses some bands of blue glazed tiles.

Immediately under the fort, and close to the foot of the hill, there is a large mosque, 110 feet long by 30 feet 9 inches broad inside. To the front it presents eleven openings, with four rows of pillars in depth, forming three aisles. The middle portion, consisting of nine squares behind the three central openings, is covered with one large dome, 30 feet in diameter.[1] At each also the four back squares are covered with a single dome, 18½ feet in diameter. In front of each of the end openings there is a small room, with an arched opening, of exactly the same size as one of the squares of the masjid itself, and with the same domed roof. The roof of the masjid, therefore, consists of one large central dome, and two smaller domes at the ends, which together occupy 17 squares. The remaining 16 squares are covered by small domes. The mosque is built with the grey stone of the neighbouring hill, the string courses only being of red stone. All the pillars have square shafts of 18 inches side, the outer row being doubled in depth, and not in front. The floor of the mosque is raised 8½ feet above the ground, and in each of the three outer faces of this terrace there is a single line of small rooms with the doors opening outwards. In the back wall there are eleven rooms, and in each of the side walls three rooms. These rooms were originally intended to be rented to shop-keepers, for the purpose of raising a fund for the maintenance of the mosque. The inside of the courtyard is covered with dense jungle, and the entrance

[1] See Plate XVIII, for a plan of this fine masjid.

gateway I found quite inaccessible. There was, however, no inscription upon it, and not even a single letter was found on any of the pillars.

In spite of its extreme plainness, for it is utterly devoid of ornament, this mosque has struck me as being a very fine building. Its solid walls, its lines of massive pillars, and its long rows of eleven symmetrical arches in front, have a very imposing appearance. I was, therefore, much disappointed in not being able to learn anything about its builder or its age. It is simply known as "the Masjid." It is probably of comparatively late date, as there are no old Hindû materials in its walls. All its pillars were obtained from the quarries, and not from desecrated Hindû temples. From its size and costliness I think it probable that it may have been built by Muhammad Khân, the Khân-Khânân, during the reigns of Sikandar and his son Ibrâhim Shâh Lodi.

XX.—VIJAYAMANDARGARH.

The great hill fort of Bayâna is known by the name of Vijayamandargarh, or the "Fortress of the temple of Vijaya." But as there is an inscription of Râjâ Vijaya Pâla, to whom the building of the fort is attributed, dated in Samvat 1100, or A.D. 1043, the present name does not reach beyond the beginning of the 11th century. But the site had certainly been occupied for many centuries previously, as there is an old monolith of red stone perched on the very highest point of the fort, which gives the name of King Vishnu Vardhana, and the date of 428, or A.D. 371, if the era be that of Vikramâditya. Here then we have the most satisfactory evidence that the hill was occupied some seven centuries before the time of Râjâ Vijaya Pâla.

This central and highest portion of the hill which forms a separate fort or citadel is said to have been named Sântipûr. Mr. Carlleyle, who visited Bayâna in 1871, describes it as being 2,140 feet in length, with a breadth of from 600 to 700 feet.[1] As Vishnu Vardhana gives the names of three of his

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. VI, p. 57.

ancestors, the place must have been in possession of his family for about a century, or, say, from 250 to 350 A.D. As the inscription is a short one I give Dr. Buhler's translation in full :[1]

"Success ! After four hundred and twenty-eight years (428) had passed, on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Phâlguna, this sacrificial pillar has been placed in memory of that former performance, *viz.*, a *Pundarika* sacrifice, by the illustrious *Vishnu Vardhana Varîkin*, whose kingdom and name are far famed—the virtuous son of *Yaso Vardhana*, the virtuous grandson of *Yasarâta*, the virtuous great-grandson of *Vyâghrarâta*, for the increase of his prosperity, of the merit resulting from sacrifice, of his eternal welfare, of his fame, family, race, share, and enjoyments. May success attend (him), may increasing prosperity attend (him), may (his) sons remain alive, may the fulfilment of the eight kinds of desires attend (him). Have always faith."

From Vishnu Vardhana's name I conclude with certainty that his father was a worshipper of Vishnu, and therefore, perhaps, a Yâduvansi Râjpût, or descendant of Krishna. As his sons are mentioned, it seems most probable that the kingdom remained in the possession of his family for at least another generation, or to about A.D. 400.

Between the time of Vishnu Vardhana and that of Vijaya Pâla there is literally nothing now remaining. Close to the pillar Mr. Carlleyle found the traces of a large temple, which probably indicate the site of the Vijayamandar itself ; but the eighteen pillars taken from it to build a mosque are quite plain.

The next oldest inscription now existing in the fort is on a loose slab now lying outside the Taleti Mosque. It bears the name of Auhad Khân, with the date of A.H. 820, or A.D. 1414. The year is recorded in the Indian form of *hisad-wa-bist*, instead of *hasht-sad*. I have found the same form in the inscriptions of the kings of Jaunpur and Mâlwa. Timur Khan, the builder of the Dargâh, and of a well, " like the waters of Zem Zem, gives the governor Auhad Khân the

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. VI, p. 60.

title of *Khân-i-Kabir*, or the "Great Khân." The following is the text of this inscription :[1]

عهد دولت خان کبیر اوحد خان   پناه جمله جهان سرور زمین و زمان

ملک معظم تیمور خان از سر صدق   بنا بکرد چنین جای طاعت رحمان

ببرد ارجب زمزم صفت ز خالص مال   قبول باد بدرگاه خالق حنان

ز هجرت نبوی سال بود هشتصد و بست   دگر سر سال بماه معظم رمضان

"In the time of the mighty chief Auhad Khân, protector of the whole world, and ruler of the earth and the age—

"The great lord Timur Khân, &c., &c., &c.;

"Built this house for prayer,

"And near it a well equal to Zem Zem,

"Of great purity (may it be accepted by God)

"In the Hijra year eight hundred and twenty,

"In the holy month of Ramzân."

The Talèti Masjid, or "Lower Mosque," is a plain build ing of two aisles, with seven openings in front. It is 54½ feet long by 21½ feet broad inside. On one of the pillars there is a short Hindû inscription of Samvat 1578, or A.D. 1521. As this is more than one hundred years later than the inscription of Auhad Khân just given, I conclude that the buildings made by Timur Khân in the time of Auhad Khân were confined to the Dargâh and well, and that the masjid belongs to a much later period.

The most curious building in the fort is a *Mâsina*, or tower for the Muazzin to call the faithful to prayers. It is curious from its peculiar shape, which is like that of a common baluster, being narrow at top, bottom, and middle, and swelling out intermediately.[2] It stands on the very top of the citadel, near the old monolith of Vishnu Vardhana, and forms a very conspicuous object on approaching the fort from the south. It is divided into two storeys, the lower storey being 42½ feet in height, and the upper storey 32 feet. The lower diameter is 24 feet, and the upper diameter 15 feet 8

[1] See Plate XVII for a *fac simile* of this inscription.

[2] See Plate 7, Vol. VI of Archæological Survey, for a sketch of this Minâr.

v i

inches. Mr. Carlleyle notes that it originally had a third storey. which was ruined by the explosion of a powder magazine. This is confirmed by the statement of Abul Fazl, who calls the Minâr "a very high tower."[1] Its original height must, therefore, have been upwards of 100 feet, as suggested by Mr. Carlleyle.

The inscription over the door begins with the usual—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

"Praise be to God, the merciful, the element."

in the upper line of the inner circle, below which is the Kalimah or Muhammadan creed—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

"There is no God but Allah,
"And Muhammad is the messenger of Allah."

I take exception to the usual rendering of the creed, by "there is no God but God," which is a simple truism that might be uttered by Jews and Christians, as well as by Muhammadans. What the people of Islâm wish to assert is that there is no God save their own particular God, whom they call Allah. The Hebrews made a similar assertion regarding their own God Jehovah—"There is no God like unto our God."

So also the Hindû asserts the same of his own especial God Vishnu—

Na Kesava samo Deva,
Na Mathura samo dwija.[2]
"There is no God like *Kesava* (Vishnu),
"and no Brâhman like one of Mathura."

Semicircular Inscription.

بنا هذه المنارة في عهدالسلطان القايم العادل ناصرالدنيا والدين ظل‌الله

فی‌العالمين محمد شاه خلدالله ملكه مسند عالي اعظم همايون داود خان

ابن خان المرحوم المغفور محمد خان طاب ثراه جعل والجنة ماواه

[1] Gladwin's Ayin Akbari, Vol. II, p. 37.

[2] Varâha Purâna, quoted by Mr Growse.—Memoir on Mathura, p. 120.

"This Minâr was built during the reign of the Sultân, the firm, the just, Nâsir ud-dunya-wa-uddin, the most mighty and just Sultân, the shadow of God on the whole creation, Muhammad Shâh, may God prolong his reign, by His Highness (Masnad Ali), the most auspicious Dâüd Khân, son of the late lord the blessed Muhammad Khân: may God have mercy on him, and give him a place in paradise."

The two horizontal lines continue the history :—

اثار بناي هذالمنارة المبارک المسند العالي

والمعي المعالي اعظم همايون داود خان

بن مسند عالي محمد خان بن مسند عالي اوحد

خان بن مسند عالي معين خان صديقي المعروف،

بلا و حدي خلدالله ملكه في سنه احدي وستين و ثما نمانيه

"This holy Minâr was ordered to be built by His Highness, the bestower of life and of rank, the most auspicious Dâüd Khân, son of His Highness Muhammad Khân, son of His Highness Auhad Khân, son of His Highness Muïn Khân Sidîki, commonly known as Auhadi."

The history of the Minâr is further continued on the jambs of the doorway, but only the right jamb now remains with the following inscription :—

Right Jamb of Door.

خداي عزوجل بران بنده رحمت كناد كه نيت دعا كوئي مسلمانان

معمار ابن منارہ منورة فاتحه بخواند امره عمارة هذا المنارة المبارک العبد

الضعيف النحيف الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى مفيد خان غفرانى

"May God bestow his blessing on that man who offers his prayers for the soul of the architect of this beautiful Minâr, which has been built for the calling to prayer of Musalmâns. The builder of this holy Minâr was the weak and insignificant slave of God, the hopeful of His mercy, Mufid Khân. May God forgive him!"

This is the same Dâüd Khân that is mentioned by Ferishta as Governor of Bayâna in A.H. 851, or A.D. 1447.[1] But

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 541.

there is a difficulty about the king's name, as the only Nasir-ud-din Muhammad known to history was the son of Feroz Tughlak, who died in A.H. 796. In 861 A.H. there was only one Muhammad actually reigning namely, the Sharki king of Jaunpur, but his title is not known. He reigned during the years 861, 862, 863, and in spite of the absence of his title in the existing histories, I think that he must be the king referred to; for I find from Ferishta that only a few years earlier, or in A.H. 849, A.D. 1445, "the zamindârs of Bayâna had placed themselves under Sultân Mâhmud Khân Khalji of Malwa; again in A.H. 855 some of Bahlol's officers joined Mâhmud Sharki, and, lastly, after Muhammad Sharki's death, that is, after A.H. 863, Ahmad Khân Jalmâni, Governor of Bayâna, "went so far as to coin money and read the *Khutba* in the name of the Sharki monarch."[1]

Dâüd Khân's two dates of A.H. 851 (Ferishta) and A.H. 861 (Minâr inscriptions) are in accordance with the date of the inscription of A.H 820 of his grandfather Auhad Khân, and with that of his father, Muhammad Khân, in A.H. 850.

The next inscriptions in date are attached to a Baoli well in the fort near the Taleti *Darwâza*, or "Lower Gate." One consists of nine lines of Sanskrit, giving the name of the Governor Khân Khânân, with the double date of Samvat 1553, and Saka 1418, both being equivalent to A.D. 1496 and A.H. 901-102. The other consists of a double column of Persian verses, which also give the name of Khân Khânân. Several of the lines are the same, word for word, as some of those over the doorway of the Ukhâ Minâr. But as this last inscription is dated in A.H. 926, or twenty-four years later than that of the Taleti Baoli, the later poet must either have copied the verses of his predecessor, or he must have been the writer of both inscriptions. The latter was probably the case, as the interval between their dates is only twenty-four years.

[1] Ferishta gives A.H. 850 as the date of Muhammad's death, but we know from the coins that Muhammad was reigning in 861, 862, and 863, and that Husen did not begin to reign until the last year

The whole of the Sanskrit inscription has not yet been read; but, so far as I have been able to make it out, it seems to be as follows :—

"This well (*vápi*) was built in the year of king Vikramâditya, 1553, and in the Saka year 1418 (A.D. 1496), and the 2nd day of the waning moon of Ashâdha, on Sunday, in the Nakshatra of Uttara Ashâdha, by the victorious Khân Muhammad, son of Shekh Imâd, the fortunate Khân Khânân, in Devya-sthân of Vijayamandar-garh."

The text of the Persian inscription is as follows :—

منت ایزد را که در عهد سپیدار جهان

دوار جمشید عصر و سرور خسرو نشان

آنکه از راي ميزش روي عالم راضیاست

وآنکه ازخلق اطیفش هست خوشبوضمیران

خان خانان کز صداء کوس او

در بیاباني نماند شیر و در براهوان

میشود اجرای خیر جسمیة لله زان

باد راضي غر اسمه باد خبرش جاودان

حاصل ازنبي بعهدش شد مرتب در حصار

* * * * * * خضر را بد روان

هشتم ازماه صیام ونهصد و [دو بد فرون ?]

بود نیز از هجرت پیغامبر آخر زمان

جودهري با * * ——————

"Praise be to God! In the time of the ruler of the earth (Sikandar Lodi), equal to Jamshid and Khusru, by whose counsels the world is enlightened, by whose good qualities the sweet basil (*semrán*) receives fragrance, at the sound of whose drum in the forest the lion flies before the antelope. [As good acts are pleasing to God, may God be pleased with him.] In his time this Baoli was made [3 lines lost] on the 8th of the month of fasting (Ramzân) in the

year nine hundred and one after the flight of Muhammad." [Satur day, 21 May 1496, A. D.]

The date in the Nâgari inscription is equivalent to Sunday, 29th May 1496; and, as the week day is given (Sunday), as well as the day of the month, both in writing and in figures, its accuracy is quite certain. The discrepancy between this date and that of the Persian inscription is eight days. It is possible that there may be some mistake in the reading of the date in the latter, as the letters have been much injured. For exact correspondence the Persian date should have been the 16th (shânz daham) of Ramzân; but every one to whom I have shown the inscription agrees that the actual word is *hashtam*, the 8th.

The latest record in the fort is one of the Emperor Bâber, who reigned from A.H. 932 to 937, inscribed on the Taleti Gateway. Bâber himself visited the fort in 933 A.H., just after the great battle of Kânwa, and again on his return from Gwalior. But the inscription is badly written and in bad order, and no date has been found in it.

XXI.—TAHANGARH.

The great fort of Tahangarh has hitherto escaped notice. It is now quite deserted, and the people are afraid to enter it, as it is quite overgrown with jungle and full of wild beasts. But in early days it was one of the famous forts of Northern India, and accordingly it attracted the attention of Muhammad bin Sâm, who captured it in A.H. 592, or A.D. 1196. Tahangarh is situated on the crest of the sandstone range of hills, from which the red and pink sandstones of Sikri, Rupbâs, and Bareti are quarried. It is 14 miles to the south of Bayâna, and the same distance to the east of Hindaun, and to the north of Karauli, to which state it now belongs. The fort is about three-quarters of a mile in length by one-quarter of a mile in breadth, and is generally considered strong. But its out-of-the-way position and inconvenience of access daunted even its Muhammadan captors, who found it "unsuitable as a place of residence;" and, accordingly, the army

retired to Bayâna, where the governor Bahâ-ud-din Tughril founded Sultânkot as the capital of his province.[1] It continued, however, in the hands of the Muhammadans, from whom it afterwards received the name of Islâmabâd.

The capture of Tahangarh is recorded by two contemporary writers. In the Tâj-ul-Maasir, Hassan Nizâmi says—

"In the year A.H. 592 (A.D. 1196), they (*i.e.*, Muhammad bin Sâm and his lieutenant Kutb-ud-din Aibak) marched towards Thangar, and that centre of idolatry and perdition became the abode of glory and splendour, and when the ropes of the royal tent were raised to heaven, the neighbourhood was tinged with a hundred hues by the varied coloured tents which were erected round that fortress, which resembled a hill of iron. By the aid of God, and by the means of courage and the daily increasing prosperity of the king, that strong castle was taken, which had hitherto remained closed to all the sovereigns or princes of the world.

"Kuwar Pâl, the Râi of Tahangarh, who had prided himself on the numbers of his army and the strength of his castle, when he saw the power of the army opposed to him, fear invaded his breast, and he begged for safety for his life, and, like a slave, kissed the face of the earth with the very roots of his teeth. Upon which he was pardoned and admitted into favour, and, though with the loss of his kingdom, was content that his life was left to him. The Musalmâns and *Harbis* and *Zimmis* entered into conditions for paying revenue. The country was purified from the defilement of infidelity, and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion.

"The government of Tahangarh was conferred on Bahâ-ud-din Tughril, who was acquainted with matters of administration and the customs of setting soldiers in array, and who received advice and instructions from His Majesty how to comport himself properly in his new appointment."[2]

Minhâj-i-Sirâj, in his Tahakât-i-Nâsiri, makes the date A.H. 591, and says that—

"when the fortress of Thangir (or Thankir), which is (in) the territory of Bayâna, with the Râi of which warfare was being carried on, was taken, it was made over to Bahâ-ud-din Tughril's charge, and that part became flourishing and prosperous through his means. From different parts of Hindustân and Khurâsân merchants and men

[1] Raverty's Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, p. 545.

[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. II, pp. 226-27.

of repute had joined him, and to the whole of them he was in the habit of presenting houses and goods, which used to become their property, so that on this account they would dwell near him."[1]

The only notices that I can find of Tahangarh in later times, is the record of a visit by Sikandar Lodi in A.H. 911, and the statement that Alam Khân was its governor at the time of Bâber's invasion, while the neighbouring fort of Bayâna was held by his brother Nizâm Khân.

The foundation of Tahangarh is ascribed to the Yâdava Râjâ Tahan Pâla, the son of Râjâ Vijaya Pâla. The date of the father is known from a still existing inscription in the Bâhari-Bhitari Mahalla Masjid of Bayâna, in which his name occurs, with the date of Samvat 1100, or A.D. 1043. The date of his son Tahan Pâla may, therefore, be placed in the latter half of the same century, or from A.D. 1075 to 1100. The name is written *Tahun* by the bards, and it appears as Tewangarh in our maps.

At the time of the Muhammadan conquest the reigning Râjâ was Ku Pâla, or most probably Kunwar Pâl, as written by Elliot. As the name in this latter form is found amongst the early successors of Tahan Pâla in the bard's chronicles, we may accept it as the correct one. According to the bards, the Râjâ fled across the Chambal river to Sabalgarh, but afterwards re-crossed the river and settled at Karauli, where his descendant still reigns.

On one of the pillars of the entrance gateway of the fortress there is a short Sanskrit inscription giving the date of Samvat 1244, or A.D. 1187, just nine years before the Muhammadan conquest.[2] Below the inscription are the names of *Achyant Dhaj Jogi* and *Brahmanâth Jogi*, in large rude letters.

On the northern tower of the gateway there is an inscription of three lines of very small writing, which gives the names of Ibrâhim Lodi, Sikandar, and Bahlol, with the date of A.H.

[1] Raverty's Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, p. 545

[2] See Plate X for a *fac simile* of this inscription.

925, or A.D. 1519. In this inscription the place is twice called by the name of Islâmabâd[1]—

بخدمت امر سایه چهتر همایون شاه عادل ابن سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه

بجاه سلطنه خلد ملکه بحین خاک اوب کردن قلعه اسلام آباد عبد الضعیف

عالم بن مجاهد خان این المدیه راه بنا کرد قرارگاه عالم پناه قلعه اسلام آباد

سنه خمس وعشرین و تسعمایه من اول ماه رجب بکمال حسن حال گرفته * * *

کرد این گنبذ بنا چون گنبذ خضراماب

مطیع خاص ابراهیم شاه کیخسرو جناب

اشرف الاشراف عالم خان از راه صفا

سال بست و پنج با نهصد ازروی حساب

"By order of the royal shadow of Humâyun Shâh Adil, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Bahlol Shâh * * , may God preserve his reign * * the humble servant of God, Alim Khân, son of Mujâhid Khân, during the time of his service in the fort of Islâmabâd, built this *karârgah* (place of rest) at the head-quarters of His Majesty, in the fort of Islâmabâd. First of *Rajab*, A.H. 925 (Verse.) This dome, like the blue vault of heaven, was built by the special servant of Ibrâhim Shâh Kai-khusru, like His Majesty, the noble of nobles Alîm Khân, in the year 925 (A.H.)[2]

On a masjid inside, there is an inscription of Salim or Islâm Shâh, the son of Sher Shâh, dated in A.H. 953. It consists of 7 lines of very peculiar writing, all the letters having a great slope backwards. In it the king has the title of Muzaffar-ud-dunnya-wa-ud-din, which is never found upon his coins. The following is the text and translation of this inscription, which is chiefly taken up with the high-sounding titles of the king.—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله بنای هذه المسجد

در عهد خداوند جهان قطب دایرهٔ زمان قایم مقام سلیمان ناصر اهل ایمان

[1] See Plate XIX for a *fac simile* of this inscription.

[2] The Humayun Shâh Adil of this inscription is mentioned by Ferishta as one of the six sons of Sikandar Lodi. See Briggs, Vol. I, p. 564.

اتابک اعظم شهنشاه معظم مالک الرقاب والامم مولی سلاطين العرب و العجم
مظفر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اسليم شاه بن شير شاه سلطان خلدالله ملکه
و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه * * *
* * * اعظم و خاقان معظم شمش خان منهخان خواجه خضر دریا خان * * *
* * * در عهد ملک خمسين و تسعمايه نهصد پنجاه * * سال از هجرت رسول
* * * * * جلال حسين منهي فاروقي ،

"In the name of Allah, the benign and merciful, there is no one deserving of worship save Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. This mosque was built in the reign of the master of the world, the centre of this earthly globe, the successor of Solomon, the supporter of the faithful, the great teacher, the most exalted sovereign, the lord of the people, chief of the rulers of Arabia and Ajam, Muzaffar-ud-dunnya-wa-ud-din, Abul Muzaffar, Aslim Shâh, son of Sher Shâh, the Sultân. May God preserve his kingdom and his Government, and may he exalt his dignity and his reign. In 953 Hijra. Jalâl Husen Fâruki (a descendant of Umar, the second Khalif).

XXII.—DHANDORA.

Dhandora is a small village 7 miles to the north-east of Hindaun, and 15 miles to the south-west of Bayâna. It possesses a curious old Baoli, or stone reservoir, from 80 to 90 feet square, with a continuous flight of twenty steps all round. At each corner there is a round tower with a square open pillared *baithak*, or terrace, in front of each, overlooking the water. There are sixteen pillars in each of these rooms, which are placed across the corners. Nothing is known about the builder, except that he is believed to have finished his work in one night. These corner *baithaks* might answer as dressing-rooms either on a wet day or an extremely hot one, although the pillars, which are only 2 feet 9 inches apart, would be rather in the way.

The Dhandora Baoli is similar to the Jhâlar Baoli of Bayâna, which has already been described. It is, however, on a smaller scale, as the Jhâlar Baoli is 127 feet square.

XXIII.—KHÂNWA.

The great contest between the Pathâns and Mughals for the Empire of India was only partially determined at the famous battle of Pânipat, in which Ibrâhim Lodi lost his life. The supremacy of the Mughals was not finally established until the following year, when Bâber defeated the combined forces of Hindûs and Muhammadans under the great Sisodia chief Râna Sangrâma, or, as he is more commonly called, Râna Sanga.

Early in January A.D. 1527 news was brought to Bâber that Râna Sanga was actually on the march towards Bayâna, and that he had been joined by Hasan Khan of Mewât. Bâber calls this chief a *Râjâ*, and says that he was "the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections."[1] His contingent amounted to 12,000 horse, while the army of the confederates is estimated at 120,000 horse. Bâber himself gives the total as 201,000, and mentions details which amount to 87,000, exclusive of Râna Sanga's own troops. I can find no statement about the numbers of Bâber's own army. He left Agra on 11th February 1527 and marched to Sikri, where he received certain information that Râna Sanga was then encamped at Bhusâwar, only 40 miles to the west. Several skirmishes which took place between detached parties being in favour of the Hindus, Bâber's troops became so much dispirited that he thought it prudent to fortify his camp. At the same time he remembered with compunction that he had frequently vowed to give up drinking wine, but had always put off doing so. But his situation now looked so serious that he resolved to carry his long-deferred vow into effect, and "never more to drink wine." The result is best given in his own words:[2]

"Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I

[1] Bâber's Memoirs, p. 335. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

directed to be divided among Darweshes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of amirs and courtiers, soldiers and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Bâba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out, I directed a *wâín* to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the *wâín* an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Muharram in the year 935, when I went to visit Gwalior on my way from Dholpur to Sikri, I found this *wâín* completed."[1]

Now this bâoli (or *wâín*) still exists, just as described by Bâber, on the west side of a small hill between the village of Khera and Mandi, just 5 miles to the north-east of Khânwa. The old high road went past the bâoli, but the present road lies to the east of the small hill. This bâoli, however, serves to fix the position of Bâber's camp at the time when "a general consternation and alarm prevailed" in his army.

After a vigorous speech which greatly roused the spirits of his troops, Bâber advanced "in order of battle for about a kos," or 2 miles, and then encamped. This was on Tuesday 12th March 1527. On the following day, 13th March, he marched again with the intention of offering battle, but after a short distance halted and fortified his camp. On Saturday the 16th March he advanced in battle array for nearly a kos, "and his men were engaged in pitching their tents when news was brought that the enemy's army was in sight."[1]

In the turgid official account of the battle written by Zein-ud-din, the encampment is said to have been "hard by a hill, which resembled the grave of the enemies of the faith." The town of Khânwa lies between two rocky ridges, and the battle must have taken place to the west of the village and the hills, as the enemy were advancing from that side, and because the people pointed out this spot as the scene of the

[1] Bâber's Memoirs, p. 358.

procession of the ghosts of the slain bearing torches which still takes place at midnight. This procession is called *Ganj Sahâba*, and *Ganj Shahidâ*. *Sahâba* means "companions," and the expression *Ganj Sahâba*, or *shahidâ*, means "the assembly of ghosts."

"The battle began about half-past nine in the morning by a desperate charge made by the Rajputs on Bâber's right.[1] Bodies of t. reserve were pushed on to its assistance; and Mustafa Rûmi, who commanded one portion of the artillery on the right of the centre, opened a fire upon the assailants. Still, new bodies of the enemy poured on undauntedly, and new detachments from the reserve were sent to assist them. The battle was no less desperate on the left, to which also it was found necessary to despatch repeated parties from the reserve. When the battle had lasted several hours, and still continued to rage, Bâber sent orders to the flanking columns to wheel round and charge; and he soon after ordered the guns to advance; and by a simultaneous movement the household troops and cavalry stationed behind the cannon were ordered to gallop out on the right and left of the matchlock-men, in the centre, who also moved forward and continued their fire, hastening to fling themselves with all their fury on the enemy's centre. When this was observed in the wings, they also advanced. These unexpected movements, made at the same moment, threw the enemy into confusion. Their centre was shaken; the men who were displaced by the attack made in flank, on the wings and rear, were forced upon the centre and crowded together. Still, the gallant Râjpûts were not appalled. They made repeated desperate attacks on the Emperor's centre, in hopes of recovering the day; but were bravely and steadily received, and swept away in great numbers. Towards evening the confusion was complete, and the slaughter was consequently dreadful. The fate of the battle was decided. Nothing remained for the Râjpût but to force their way through the bodies of the enemy that were now in their rear, and to effect a retreat. The Emperor pursued them as far as their camp, which was about 3 or 4 miles from his own.

"No victory could be more complete. The enemy were quite broken and dispersed. The whole fields around were strewed with the dead, as well as the roads to Bayâna and Alwar. Among the slain were Hasan Khân Mewâti, who fell by a matchlock shot, Raul Udi Singh, of Dongarpur, Rai Chandarbhân Chohân, Mânikchand Chohân, and many other Chiefs of note."[2]

[1] Erskine's Life of Bâber, Vol. I, pp. 472-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 473.

Bâber pursued the flying enemy as far as their camp, which was at Mahal Bansi, 4 miles to the west of Khânwa. This was one of the spots fixed upon by Râna Sanga as marking the northern limit of his future dominion. On the small hill near Khânwa, Bâber directed "a tower of the skulls of the infidels to be constructed." Search was made all over the .il for some remains of this "tower of skulls," but in vain. I was disappointed also in not finding any traces of the battle in the shape of tombs. But the whole face of the country has been changed by the floods of the Bânganga river. The surface has been raised several feet by the accumulation of sand left by these floods. The floor of the Darê Masjid is between 2 or 3 feet below the present ground level. As the Masjid was built in A.H. 908, the rise of the soil has been some 4 feet in the last 400 years, or about 1 foot per century. The floors of some of the old houses still standing are said to be as much as 6 feet below the present ground level.

On the top of the small hill to the west of the town there is a tomb which the people assign to Bhurê Khân, but its date is unknown, and he is vaguely supposed to have been a Pathân. On the eastern hill there is a masjid on stone pillars, with four small minârs at the corners. Close by it there is a tomb of Pahâr Badshah, of whom nothing is known.

With reference to the procession of the ghosts of the slain which is said to traverse the field of battle at midnight, the people of Khânwa are not singular in their belief, as I have found the same kind of superstitious fears still prevalent at Pânipat and also at Chillianwâla. These beliefs must have originated very soon after the battles, as I heard of the Chillianwâla ghosts as early as 1864, only fifteen years after the battle; and the ghosts of Pânipat are mentioned by Abdul Kâdir during the reign of Akbar, about forty years after that battle. I cannot find the passage now, but I remember that he records being obliged to cross the plain at night, he felt awe-struck, and hurried over the battle-field as quickly as possible. Shouts of rage and shrieks of agony are said to be still heard, mingled with the groans of the wounded and

dying. The same tale is now told at Chillianwala, where the field of battle is known as "*katal-garh*," or the "place of slaughter." Moans of pain and wild lamentations are said to be heard at night by people passing near the grave-yards, which lie between the 30th and 31st mile-stones from Gujarât. The ground about the 31st mile-stone is low; and as the Sikhs occupied a ridge to the west, they could see into the hollow; and it was there that the great slaughter of the 24th Regiment took place.

It is a curious fact that the date of the battle of Khânwa is wrongly recorded by Bâbar himself; and that the error has not been observed either by Erskine or by Dowson. Bâber says that it took place on Saturday, the 13th of the second Jamâdi, A.H. 933. But the 13th was Sunday in that year; and Saturday was the 12th.

The year 933 A.H. began on Monday, 8th October 1526, which day was, of course, the 1st of Muharram. Bâber states that the 24th Muharram was a Wednesday, which is correct. He also makes the 15th Safar a Wednesday, and the 16th of Rabi I a Friday, both of which are right. He s also correct in making the 9th of Jamâdi I a Monday, and the 14th a Saturday.[1] But he makes Sunday the 21st instead of the 22nd, as is also noted by Erskine. All these dates bring us to Monday as the last day or 30th of Jamâdi I, and to Tuesday as the 1st of Jamâdi II; and therefore Saturday was the 12th, and not the 13th, of that month. There is no mistake about the day of the week being Saturday, as Shekh Zainuddin repeats the name in a quotation from the Korân—"since God has given a blessing on your Saturday.[2]"

Tod has made a whole bundle of mistakes in assigning the date to Kârtik 5, in Samvat 1584, which he says was 16th March 1528.[3] Now Kârtik corresponds with October, and Samvat 1584 mostly with A.D. 1527. He omits also to say whether the day was in the dark half or the light half of the

[1] Bâber's Memoirs, pp. 346, 347, 351.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 361.
[3] Tod's Râjasthân, 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 255-56.

month. The true Hindû date was Saturday, the 13th *Chaitra* Sudi, in Samvat 1584.

XXIV—RUPBÂS.

I was induced to visit Rupbâs from the report of its monoliths and inscriptions, which were said to be very old. The monoliths which are lying at the quarries may be old, but there is nothing about them to show what their age may be. The statues at the temples are all very rude, and apparently quite modern. The inscriptions are undoubtedly quite recent.

The oldest is a figure called *Baldeo*, cut in the rock. It is a sleeping figure, 22½ feet long, with a seven serpent-hooded canopy. One hand holds a *Vajra*, or thunderbolt. The inscription is—

Râm. Samvat 1666 varshe, Mâgh mâse, Krishna pakhe,
pratipada Devâwâsare nâtha anda daule paralake.

"Samvat 1666, or 1609 A.D. was the 5th year of Jahângir's reign."

A second sleeping figure of *Nârâyana*, also cut in the rock, is 21 feet long and 7 feet 4 inches broad. It has only two arms. One hand holds a lotus, and the other a garland. There are five attendant figures called the five Pandus.

A female figure, called *Revati*, is 19 feet 3 inches long. It is very rudely cut, with long thin legs. One hand holds a flower; the other rests on the waist. Hanumân stands at the feet holding a shell in one hand. The inscription is—

Baraj kâ Râjâ Ranjit Singh
Miti Mâgsir, Sudi 10, Samvat 1854,
Sri Mâtâji—

"Ranjit Singh, Râjâ of Braj, on the 10th of the waxing moon of Mârgasiras, in the Samvat year 1854 (A.D. 1797), established Sri Mâtâji."

A male figure, 9 feet 2 inches long and 6 feet 9 inches broad, is attended by a female holding the feet. The group is called Lakshmi-Nârâyan. Its inscription is—

Sri Râmji
Samvat 1888, varshe miti
Asoj duje, Sudi 10, Rabiwâr.

Râja Badat, Mâme Mahârâj Sri
Balwant Singh ji, Mûrti Lachimi
Naraini triti * iki paya râirwâ

"Sri Râmji. In the Samvat year 1888 (A.D. 1831), on Sunday, 10th of the waxing moon of Asoj, Râjâ Badat, uncle of the Mahârâjâ Sri Balwant Singh, established these figures of Lachhimi-Naraini."

The Râjâ of Bharatpur is very anxious to be considered as the lord of the classical district of *Braj*, or the country around Mathura. Unfortunately the greater part of Braj is within the British boundary. The Râjâs of Bharatpur have been particularly anxious to have the holy hill and town of Govardhan ceded to them.

XXV.—DUBKUND.

In the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1866, there is a notice, by Captain Melville, of an old temple situated at Dubkund, in the very heart of the great jangals to the south-west of Gwalior.[1] The exact position of Dubkund is on the top of the table-land between the Kunu and Chambal rivers, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwalior direct, and 44 miles to the west-north-west of Sipri. By road the distance from Gwalior is 98 miles.

Babu Jwâla Pershâd, who accompanied Captain Melville, describes the inscription on one of the pillars as dated in Samvat 741, during the reign of Bekram Singh. The true date, however, is very much later, or Samvat 1145, or A.D. 1088, during the reign of Mahârâjâ-dhirâja Sri Vikrama Singha. There is no king of this name in the Gwalior lists; but, as the king's son is called the *Kachhapaghâta-vansa-tîlaka*, or ornament of the *Kachwâha* race, as well as the *Yuva Râjâ*, it seems nearly certain that the Râjâ must have been connected with the Kachwâha family of Gwalior.

I did not visit the place myself, as I had to go to Mahabodhi (Buddha Gaya) and Calcutta, which I was able to do by rail, while my servants marched by regular marches to Dubkund. All the measurements and copies of inscriptions

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XXXV, p. 168.

were made by some of my old servants under the superintendence of my draughtsman, Babu Jamna Shankar Bhatt, who has had much experience of this kind of work during the last ten years.

The temple of Dubkund is situated near the western end of an oval-shaped enclosure, 750 feet long by 400 feet broad. The entrance to the enclosure is at the east end, near a deep rock-cut tank, 50 feet square, which still contains good water. At a short distance inside there is a ruined Brâhmanical temple of Hara-Gauri, with the ruins of many houses to the north. But the jangal inside was so thick that it was difficult to move in any direction. Pathways were cut by the wild aboriginal Savaras, or Sahriyas, as they are called in the Gwalior territory. The jangal consisted chiefly of the large-thorned bâbul and the small thorned ber, with thick brushwood and grass, which could only be cleared by burning.

Captain Melville in his account speaks of the remains as "Bûddhist ruins," but all the statues are undoubtedly Jaina figures, and one of them still retains the name of Chandra Prabha (the Chunder Perboo of Jwâla Pershâd). Captain Melville notes it as—

"a curious fact that these ruins were unknown to any of the natives, except the *Sheriahs*, or half savages, that inhabit this jangal. The native surveyor Jwâla Pershâd says that all the legends about this place seem to show that formerly it was a very celebrated temple, and a great place for pilgrimage. They state '(at a date unknown) many years ago, a Râjâ from the west came with an army to this temple, carried off the gold and silver images, broke up the other sculptures, and threw a large portion of them into the *kûnd*, and ever since the place has been deserted, and called *Dûb kûnd*,'

or the 'Tank of the sunken' (figures).

The Baniyas of the neighbourhood, of course, know that the temple belongs to the Jaina religion, and they all agree that it must have been built by some rich Srâogi Baniya, but no name was known. Only one single individual said that two brothers, named Dobâ Sâh and Bhesa Sâh, built the temple, and that Amar Singh, a Mahratta chief, broke several of the statues.

The Jain temple of Dûbkûnd is a square enclosure of 81 feet each way:[1] on each side there are ten rooms. The four corner rooms have doors opening outwards, but all the rest open inwards into a corridor, supported on square pillars. The entrance is on the east side, which has, therefore, only seven chapels, there being exactly eight chapels on each of the other three sides. Each chapel is 5 feet 8 inches square.

Each of these thirty-five chapels (thirty-one opening inwards, and four corner rooms opening outwards) originally contained a statue, of which only broken pieces now remain; but there are many of the pedestals still *in situ*, with richly carved canopies above. The entrance to each chapel is also most elaborately carved, after the fashion of the entrance to the sanctum of a Brâhmanical temple. There are four figures on each jamb, and three large seated figures on each lintel, one in the middle, and one at each end, with small standing figures between them.

Each chapel is roofed with overlapping slabs in three tiers; the two lower layers cutting off the corners, and the third covering the upper small square. The corridors are roofed with plain slabs.

The pillars of the corridor are square, with turn-overs above and below, and four-bracket capitals to receive the architraves. Including the capitals, they are 7 feet 5 inches high.

In the south-eastern corner shrine outside there are three tall standing statues, all naked. The middle one is 12 feet 6 inches high, by 3 feet 8 inches broad. It was sunk deep in the ground, but was cleared down to the feet. The floor is deep below that of the chapels inside. The two side statues are each 9 feet 9 inches high by 2 feet 4 inches broad.

The chapel roofs have mostly fallen in. Of the corridors all are complete, but two of the projecting corners have fallen. Outside there were three female statues richly clothed, besides many broken figures. No statues were found inside. All had been broken and carried outside. All the male figures are quite naked, and therefore they must have belonged to the Digambara sect of Jains.

[1] See Plate XX for a plan of this temple.

On one of the pillars there is a short inscription of three lines, which reads—

Samvat 1152—Vaisâkha sudi panchamyam||
Sri Kâshtha Sangha Mahâchârya Varya Sri Deva
Sena pâdukâ yugalam.

On the pedestal of one of the broken figures there is a nearly obliterated inscription dated in "Samvat 1151 Sri Deva," and of S. 1151. On a third pedestal of a tall standing figure there is an inscription of two lines without date. It is useful, however, as it mentions the name of the statue[1]—

Lashu Srethino kârti|| Srimân Vâsu-pratima
Sethini Lashmih.||

Vasu, or Vasupâdya, was the 12th of the 24 Jaina pontiffs.

In the south cloister one of the pilasters is made broader than the rest (16 inches) to receive a long inscription of 59 lines. This record is dated in Samvat 1145 and opens with the words—

Aum! namo Vitarâgâya.||

"Glory to Vitarâga." This is one of the titles of Buddha as well as of the Jaina saints. It means simply one whose passions have been subdued, the "free from passion" The inscription has not yet been translated, but I have found the names of *Sri Sânthinâtho jinah*, and *Sri Maj-jinâdhipati*, which are sufficient to show that the record belongs to the Jaina religion.[2] But the naked statues declare the same thing, as no Buddhist figures are ever represented naked.

The people of the country are chiefly Savaras, or Sahriâs, as they are called in Gwalior, who live as wood-cutters and charcoal-burners. In my account of the Savaras, given in Volume XVII, I have already referred to this section of the aborigines, who inhabit the Seopur jangals to the south-west of Gwalior. I am now able to add a few details. The Savaras of Seopur have lost their own language, but they retain the same physical appearance as their brethren to the south and east. Out of twenty-seven men who were measured, the tallest was 5 feet 10 inches, and the shortest 4 feet 10 inches;

[1] See Plate XXII for copies of these short inscriptions.
[2] See Plates XX and XXII for a *fac simile* of this long inscription.

the average height being 5 feet 4¾ inches. Their names also are peculiar, as 18 out of 27 end in the vowels *a*, *u*, and *i*; or 8 in *a*, 6 in *u*, and 4 in *i*. Six of the names are, however, undoubtedly pure Hindû names; and perhaps two or three others may be of Hindû derivation, but the remaining two-thirds have no connection with any Aryan words.

I have already noted that not a single statue now remains on its pedestal, and that all the figures lying round about are broken. Amar Kându, a Mahratta chief, is said to have broken some of the statues. No one accuses the Muhammadans, and I can scarcely believe that they have ever visited the place. But it is the fashion now to attribute the ruin of all temples to the iconoclastic Muhammadans, and certainly the followers of Islâm have plenty to answer for in India. But it must be remembered that Buddhism had disappeared in Northern India long before the Muhammadan conquest, although it still lingered in Bihâr, or Magadha, where it first originated. The following extracts from two Sanskrit works, written by the Brâhmans, are quite sufficient to show that persecution was quite as rampant amongst the Hindû priesthood as amongst the most bigoted of Musalmâns :—

A setor-â-tushâdre Bauddhânâm virddha-bâlakân *na hanti sa hantanyo bhrityân ityanwasât nirpah.*

"The king commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Bauddhas, from the bridge of Râma to the snowy mountain; let him who slays not be slain."

This is Wilson's translation of Mâdhava Achârya's account of the persecution of the Buddhists by king Sudhanwan, at the instigation of Kumâril Bhatta,—

"who, as he preceded Sankara Achârya, may have lived in the 6th or 7th century, or even earlier." [1]

Wilson observes that the commands of king Sudhanwan were not likely to be obeyed from Cape Comorin to the Himâlayas. But the question at issue is not the extent of Sudhanwan's dominions, but the spirit which dictated such an order. We have first the Brâhman Kumaril Bhatta, "the great authority

[1] Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XVI, p. 258; and also Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions, Vol. I, p. 442.

of the Mimânsakas," recommending this sanguinary persecution of the Buddhists to king Sudhanwan, followed by the king's order to put to death both young and old, and then the subsequent exultation, in Moslem fashion, of the Brâhman Mâdhava Achârya in recording it.

That the persecution of the Buddhists extended to Northern India, and that it included the Jains, we learn from another Brâhman, Krishna Misra, the author of the Prabodha Chandrodaya, who wrote before the time of Kirtti Varma of Mahoba, A.D. 1065 to 1085. In this drama Religion gives an account of the final discomfiture of the heretics, Buddhists, Jains, and others; when

the Saugatas or Bûddhists fled to	the heretics, Digambaras, or Jains concealed themselves in
Sindhi.	Panchâla.
Gândhâra.	Mâlava. } which lie near the sea.
Magadha.	Abhira. }
Andhra.	Anarta. }
Huna.	
Banga.	
Kalinga.	
Mlecha.	

Here we see that the Buddhists sought refuge in Magadha or Bihâr, while the Jains fled to Panchâla, or Rohilkhand. The truth of this statement is proved by the numbers of Buddhist remains still existing throughout Bihâr, and by the great númber of Jain temples which I found at Ahichatra, the capital of Panchâla.

The Buddhists have passed away altogether, but the Jains still exist in considerable numbers in several parts of India. The great majority of the bankers and corn-merchants (or Baniyas) are Jains. But all their wealth and influence have not been able to save them from the persecution of Brâhmans. Everywhere, even at the present day, at Delhi, at Agra, and at other places the Brâhmans have succeeded in preventing the Jains from holding processions. The persecution has not proceeded from the bigotry of the Musalmâns, but from the more rampant intolerance of the Brâhmans. Hence I am led

to believe that the destruction of the numerous Jain statues at Dûbkûnd was most probably also the act of the Brâhmans.

XXVI.—KADWAI.

At the small village of Kadwai on the Kohâri River, 16 miles to the east of Dûbkûnd, there is an old carved temple dedicated to Vishnu. The temple is only 14 feet square outside, and 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 7 inches inside, but it is large enough to enshrine a statue of Vishnu 5 feet high by 2½ feet broad, with two other figures of the Varâha incarnation of Vishnu and Ganesa. In the outside panels there is one figure at the back and two figures on each side. The temple is built of a pale-coloured sandstone.

The existence of this temple at so short a distance from Dûbkûnd would seem to show that the country around the great Jain Temple must have been occupied by a numerous Hindû population shortly before the time of the Muhammadan conquest. At the date of the Dûbkûnd inscription in Samvat 1145, or A.D. 1088, the throne of Gwalior was occupied by Râjâ Mahi-Pâla, one of the most powerful of the Kachwâha princes.

XXVII.—PÂROLI.

At the foot of the hills, 9 miles due north of the fortress of Gwalior, there is a good-sized village named Pâroli, which possesses several ruined temples of small size, which probably belong to the later Gupta period, or about 500 A.D. I found only two imperfect inscriptions, in one of which the place is called *Pârâsaragrâma*, which I presume to have been the origin of its present name of Pâroli. But the inscriptions themselves are not older than 1000 Samvat. Great stress is laid on the first syllable of the name, for the purpose of distinguishing it from the large village of *Parâvali*, 7 miles to the north.

In the accompanying Plate I have given a plan and section of one of these temples to enable the reader to compare the style with that of the undoubted Gupta temples of Eran,

Tigowa, Udayagiri, and Pataini Devi.[1] But the Pâroli temples were all of small size, the most perfect one now remaining being less than 5 feet square inside, and only 6 in height. Outside, this temple, with its basement, is 12 feet long, 10 feet broad, and 10 feet high. Its sides are formed of single slabs, only 8 inches thick, and its flat roof is also a single slab, about 10 feet by 8 feet. These temples would appear to have been dedicated to Vishnu, as there is a figure of Garuda over the centre of the doorway of a smaller one, with the Navagraha, or "nine Planets," sculptured on the frieze above.

There must, however, have been several larger temples in former days, as there are many remains of pillars and pinnacles of large size lying about the village.

All the existing temples have got the second or lower cornice, which is one of the peculiar characteristics of the Gupta style of architecture.

But the most curious and interesting object now remaining at Pâroli is a small altar-like stone crowned with a full-blown lotus flower. It is 1 foot 9½ inches square at bottom and 1 foot 6 inches high. Its mouldings are somewhat like those of a temple, with a small projection on each of the four faces, ornamented with a human figure. At each angle of the top there is a quadrant-shaped parapet, with a low rim on each front, which rises slightly above the base of the lotus; and as there is a small hole on one side, cut through this rim, I conclude that this monument must have stood in the open air, and that the hole was intended for letting the rain water run off. Under this view I think it possible that this lotus monument may have been the uppermost member of a short spire which once crowned one of the small flat-roofed temples. I have never seen anything like it before, and I confess that I feel much puzzled about its appropriation.

The quarries of Pâroli are famous for the strength and whiteness of their sandstones. As beams they are frequently used up to 18 feet span, as in the verandahs of the tomb of

[1] See Plate XXIII for the Pâroli remains.

Muhammad Ghaus in the city of Gwalior. The Pâroli sandstones also make the most durable hand-mills on account of their hardness.

XXVIII.—PARÂVALI.

Seven miles to the north-north-east of Pâroli, and 16 miles nearly due north from the fortress of Gwalior, there is an old town named Parâvali, with the remains of a very fine old temple on a high mound, and a collection of more than a hundred temples, large and small, in a retired valley to the south-east. The old name of the town is said to have been *Dhâron*; and the people assert that the three old towns of *Dhâron*, *Kutwâl*, 6 miles to the north-west, and *Suhaniya*, 10 miles to the north-north-east, originally formed one large city. It is possible that their suburban gardens may have joined in some places; but there are no traces of houses between the towns to justify the belief. The people of Suhaniya tell the same story, that their city was 12 kos in length.

The chief objects of interest at Parâvali are—

1. The old temple on the mound near the village now called Garhi, because it has been turned into a small fort, or *garhi*, by adding towers to the walls of the enclosure. This was done by the Râna of Dholpur early in the present century.[1]
2. The Chaua-Kua, or a "covered well," one-quarter of a mile to the west of the garhi.
3. The temple of Bhuteswar in the secluded valley half a mile to the south of the well, and three-quarters of a mile to the south-west of the garhi.
4. Temple of Vishnu in the valley.
5. Lingam temple in the valley.
6. Platform of a large temple in the valley.

Several of the smaller temples are also curious, but they are mostly dilapidated, and have lost their enshrined figures.

The Garhi is an oblong enclosure, consisting of two

[1] See Plate XXIV for a map showing the sites of all these buildings.

distinct parts, or an upper court and a lower court. The upper court is the old enclosure, or platform wall, of the temples, of which two richly ornamented portions are now exposed : one on the north, below which the ascent is made to the entrance; the other in the middle of the south side, where the central tower and part of the wall have fallen, showing an inner wall similar to that which is exposed on the north. The upper court is 160 feet long by 105 feet broad, and the lower court is of the same length, but only 90 feet in breadth. The height of the mound is from 25 feet to 30 feet. But the mound itself stands on a rising ground, which extends from the village of Parâvali for half a mile to the westward, along the foot of the hill. The whole of this high ground is covered with stones and broken walls, the ruins of the ancient city of Dhâron.

The temple consists of on open pillared hall, or *Maṇḍapa*, 25 feet square.[1] The roof is supported on sixteen large pillars, 19 inches square, with the angles indented. The entrance is on the west through an outer hall (*ardhamandapa*), supported on two pillars. These are shorter than the pillars of the hall, but the requisite height of roof is obtained by a double architrave. The sanctum itself is entirely gone, and only its two entrance pillars now remain, with its lintel broken right across. A second architrave, which is lying on the ground, is also broken. The architraves over all the pillars are very richly sculptured. On the eastern architrave the principal figure is Surya, and on the western architrave the central figure is Kâli. On the south are the figures of Siva, Vishnu, and Brâhma, and on the north a group of Hara-Gauri. I think, therefore, that the temple must have been dedicated to Siva. It is now utterly desecrated, an upper storey having been added as a private dwelling-house, with a curved Bengali dome. This was added in the time of the Dholpur Râna.

There are several short inscriptions on the pillars of the temple, amongst which is a record of the ubiquitous Jogi

[1] See Plate XXV for a plan of this temple.

Magaradhwaja in large thick letters. Here, however, he has added two syllables to his name, as—

Magaradhwajangâm
Jogi 700—

On another pillar there is a record of a secend Jogi in the same kind of letters—

Aum ! Jogi Bhagati-nâtha—

There are several inscriptions in more modern characters, dated respectively in Samvat 1428, 1588, 1590. and 1594, but they are only pilgrims' records.

Outside the Garhi, towards the village, there is an old sati pillar, which appears to be dated in Samvat 944, or A.D. 887. I read the remaining part of the record as

Aum ! Samuat 944 varshe Mâgha Sudi 3—

"Hail ! in the Samvat year 944 (A.D. 887) on the 3rd of the waxing moon of Mâgha"

The date is a very early one for a sati pillar, as most of the early sati stones are not inscribed.

The *Chaua küa* is a large well, 13 feet 8 inches in diameter, covered by a roof supported on ten pillars. On the east and west sides there are two pillars between the corners, but on the north and south sides there is only one intermediate pillar. On the west side the roof is extended for upwards of 6 feet to form a verandah. The roof is, therefore, oblong, being 18½ feet from north to south, and 22 feet from east to west. On the east and west sides the low walls only, 2½ feet high, on which the pillars stand, overlap the edge of the well, so that the drawers of water can drop their vessels without striking the wall.[1] The whole building stands on a stone plinth, or platform, 4½ feet in height, which extends beyond the pillars on all sides, being 35½ feet long by 28½ feet broad. Outside this platform, in the middle of the west side, there is a small temple of the Gupta period, only 6 feet long by 4 feet 8 inches broad inside. The jambs of the door, which would have shown the figures of the Ganges and Jumna, are gone, but the lower cornice, which is one of the peculiar

[1] See Plate XXVI for a plan of this well and temple.

characteristics of the Gupta style, still remains. In the three panels outside there are figures of Ganesa, Kârtikeya, and Mahâdeva. The enshrined figure is gone; but, standing outside, against the plinth wall, there is a large six-armed female figure with a child, which most probably belonged to the temple. It is 4 feet 9 inches in height.

Near the centre of the east wall of the plinth there is a very large pipal tree, and outside the south-east corner there is a stone trough for watering cattle, 9 feet 2 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 5 inches deep.

On the top of the low wall surrounding the well there is an inscribed slab, bearing the date of Samvat 1528, or A.D. 1471, in the time of Mahârâja Dhirâja Sri Kirtti Singha Deva, who was one of the Tomara Râjas of Gwalior from A.D. 1454 to 1479.[1] But the well must have been built many centuries before his time, as the style of the temple is undoubtedly of the Gupta period, while the pillars show that a complete re-arrangement must have been made at some period long subsequent to the original erection. Thus, the two northern pillars of the verandah, marked A and B, have octagonal shafts, with plain kumbhas; while the two southern pillars of the same verandah, marked C and D, have twelve-sided fluted shafts, with richly carved kumbhas.

In the valley, or *kho*, to the south-west there is a confused assemblage of more than one hundred temples of various sizes, but mostly small. The largest now standing is called *Bhuteswara*, which is a name of Siva. But this was not the original destination of the shrine, as there is a figure of Garuda over the centre of the sanctum doorway, which shows that the temple was first dedicated to Vishnu. A plan of this building is given in the accompanying Plate.[2] It was rather smaller than the Garhi temple, its hall, or *mahamandapa*, being only 20 feet square. Its sanctum is 6 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 7 inches inside, with a small anteroom of 2 feet. On the right jamb of the doorway stands a figure of the Ganges

[1] See Archæological Survey, Vol. II, p. 382. [2] See Plate XXVI.

on her crocodile, and on the left jamb a figure of the Jumna on her tortoise. The pillars of the hall are nearly plain. The pyramidal spire over the sanctum is 15 feet 4 inches square, where it springs from the flat roof.

Amongst the multitude of small temples there are a few in very fair preservation. Most of them have flat roofs, with sides formed of single slabs placed upright, and a small portico, or entrance hall, in front resting on two pillars. I observed only one little temple, of 4 feet 9 inches opening, with a pyramidal top to its roof. To the north of the Bhuteswara temple, just outside a small tank cut in the rock, there are two continuous rows of these small temples forming a sort of street. If some of the larger ones had possessed open pillared halls in front, they would have been little inferior in size to the Bhuteswara temple.

One of these shrines, dedicated to Siva, is 12 feet 6 inches long, by 12 feet 2 inches broad, outside, with a sanctum of 5¾ feet by 5½ feet, and a small sanctum hall of 2 feet 11 inches. Inside there is a lingam. Outside, on the back wall, there is a trimûrtti, or three-headed bust of Siva, on the north wall a figure of Ganesa, and on the south wall a group of Siva and Pârvati. Close by there is a large square slab with another trimûrtti bust, which apparently once belonged to the inside of this temple. On the jambs of the doorway there are figures of the Ganges and Jumna, on their *vâhans* the crocodile and the tortoise. The roof is flat, but there are some traces of a pyramidal tower on the top.

A second shrine, dedicated to Vishnu, is of much the same size outside, with a sanctum 6 feet 8 inches square. It has figures of the Ganges and Jumna on its door jambs.

To the north-north-east of the Bhuteswara temple there is a long plinth, or platform of a temple, of unusual shape. It is 42 feet 8 inches long from east to west by 29 feet 8 inches broad, with a projection on the south side, 11 feet 8 inches square. From its shape I conclude that the temple which occupied this site must have consisted of three distinct rooms, but not a stone now remains to give a clue to the original structure.

To the north-west of the Bhuteswara temple there is a

long row of nine rooms, each forming a separate temple about 6 feet deep, and from 4½ to 6 feet front. One of them has a pyramidal top, and a second possesses a short inscription, dated in Samvat 1107, or A.D. 1050. In front there is a fine large well, 11 feet 10 inches in diameter, or just the same size as the Chaua-Kua.

XXIX.—KUTWÂL.

The old town of Kutwâl on the south bank of the Âsan river, 17 miles to the north of the fortress of Gwalior, is said to be the ancient Kuntalpuri. It is evidently a very old site, from its commanding position, covering one of the best fords on the Âsan river. The site is a low rocky hill, with a similar hill at a little distance to the east, which is now unoccupied.

Many broken statues are now lying about. One of these, near a well on the east side of the town, looks as if it had once been attached to the end of a toran beam of a gateway. It has the upper half of a female figure on each face, with one hand raised, and holding the branch of a tree.

A curious fragment in red sandstone represents a full-blown lotus flower in very high relief, with two large buds rising out of the water, which was indicated by wavy lines. The flower was shown in perspective, the only specimen of such a treatment that I have ever met with.

On a pillar, in a comparatively modern masjid, there is a Nâgari inscription, dated in Samvat 1522, or A.D. 1465, during the reign of Râjâ Kirtti Singha Deva, another of whose inscriptions was found at Parâvali. Kirtti Singha was the Tomar Râjâ of Gwalior from A.D. 1454 to 1479. For further information about Kutwâl, or Kutwâr, as it is also called, see my Report in Archæological Survey, Vol. II, p. 397. It is there said to be known as Kamantalpuri, but the only name that I could hear of during my present visit was Kuntalpuri, and this is also the name which was given to Wilford in the beginning of the century.

XXX.—DHOLPUR.

One mile to the south of the city of Dholpur there is a

pretty little tomb surrounded by trellised railing of red stone, which is the last resting-place of Bibi Zarina. In the Râjputana Gazetteer she is called Mussummat Zarina, and her death is said to have taken place on the 14th of Shabân 922 A.H., while the tomb was not built until A.H. 944.[1] But the short inscription of three lines at the foot of her tomb gives a somewhat different account—

Wafât yâft Bibi Zarina marhum batârikh Chahârdaham mâh Shabân, roz ekshambah Sanh 942.

"The late Lady Zarina died on the 14th of the month Shabán, on the first day of the week (Sunday), in the year 942 A. H.)."[2]

But who was Bibi Zarina who died in A.H. 942? I think it highly probable that she was Zarina, the mother of Sikandar Lodi, the beautiful daughter of a goldsmith, who, after the death of her husband Bahlol Lodi, addressed the assembled nobles from behind a curtain in favour of her son.[3]

"He was objected to by Isa Khân, a nephew of Bahlol, on the ground of his mother Zaina being the daughter of a goldsmith, 'What business,' he exclaimed, 'have goldsmiths' sons with government, since it is proverbial that monkeys make but bad carpenters.[4] The names are the same, as *Zaina* is only a contraction of *Zarina* the golden."

As her son Sikandar was only in his 18th year when he succeeded to the throne in A.H. 894, he must have been born in 877, and her marriage with Bahlol must be referred to the previous year. And if we allow her to have been 15 years old, her birth will be referred to 862 A.H. In 942, therefore, she would have been 80 lunar years' old, or about 78 solar years.

Now, this is about the same age as was attained by Akbar's mother, Hamida Begam, who was 14 years old when she married Humâyun in A.H. 948. She was, therefore, born in 934, and as she died in A.H. 1014, she was then 78 lunar years old.[5] Jodh Bâi, also the mother of Jahângir, was upwards

[1] Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 267.
[2] See Plate XXXVII.
[3] Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 573.
[4] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 4-5—Tabakât-i-Nasiri, quoted in note.
[5] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. V, p. 214.

of 71 years old when she died in A.H. 1032; while Akbar's first wife, Rakiya Begam, reached the great age of 84 lunar years or 82 solar years.[1] It seems to me, therefore, that there is a very strong probability in favour of the identification of Bibi Zarina with Zaina, the mother of Sikandar Lodi. Bibi is a common title given to Queens, as in the well known case of Tâj Bibi, for Mumtâz-i-zamân, the wife of Shâh Jahân.

The people have a curious story about the tomb, which shows of how little value many of these so-called traditions may be. According to the popular story, Zarina was the daughter of the Emperor Shâhjahân She remained unmarried, and was constantly praying to God that she might die a virgin. Accordingly, it happened one day when she was praying in a garden, that the earth opened, and she and all her female attendants disappeared. The neighbouring mosque is said to have been erected in remembrance of her, and the four tombs outside her own are assigned to her four servants.

Now, the neighbouring mosque was built in the year 944 A.H., during the reign of the Emperor Humâyun, the great grandfather of Shâhjahân, as recorded in an inscription on the mosque itself. The tomb also bears the date of 942 A.H., so that both buildings are just one century older than the time of Shâhjahân.

The lady, whoever she may have been, is now looked upon as a holy woman, and offerings of bangles are made at her tomb.

The tomb of Bibi Zarina is a four-pillared building, 9½ feet square, surrounded by a trellised screen of red stone, 25 feet square. At the head of the sarcophagus is engraved the Kalmish, and at the foot the inscription containing the name and date of Zarina's death, which has already been given. On each side of the Sarcophagus some sentences from the Korân are engraved.

XXXI.—TEJÂRA.

The fine old town of Tejâra is situated 30 miles to the

[1] Blochmann Ain-i-Akbari, p. 309.

north-north-east of Alwar, and 60 miles to the north-west of Mathura. It was one of the chief towns of the Khânzâdas of Mewât, and for a long time was their capital. It contains about 8,000 inhabitants, and possesses many fine buildings of its Khânzâda rulers. It is surrounded also by numbers of magnificent trees,—the banian, nim, pipal, mango and others. The old city was situated about one mile to the east of the present town. Its site is now marked by one good-sized Muhammadan tomb, an idgah, and a well, and a number of sati cenotaphs, or domed chatris. I counted sixteen of these sati monuments, which are said to belong to the Hindû wives of the Khânzâda chiefs. The present town of Tejâra stands on high ground, some portions being apparently mounds of accumulated ruins. The site is said to be very healthy. The following are the principal buildings now remaining.

(1) A great Pathân tomb to the south of the city, now called Bhartari, because the land on which it stands formerly belonged to a Hindû of that name. It is one of the largest tombs in Northern India. It is said to have been built by Alâ-ud-dîn Alam Shâh, the brother of Sikandar Lodi, who was for a long time governor of Tejâra under Sikandar. He disagreed with his nephew Ibrahim Lodi, and joined Bâber on his invasion in A.H. 932. He lived into Humâyun's reign, but it is not known when or where he died.

The tomb is an octagonal building of the style that prevailed during the hundred years' rule of the Sayids and Lodis from A.H. 830 to 930. But it is much larger than any of the Delhi tombs of that period. Its outside dimensions are 128 feet in breadth, by 115 to 120 feet in height. The centre room is 48½ feet in diameter, with walls 17 feet thick, beyond which is an open verandah, of 9½ feet, with walls 9½ feet thick [1] The terrace plinth, which is 13 feet high, extends for 3⅝ feet beyond the walls, thus making the whole breadth of the basement 128 feet. At each angle outside, attached to the upright walls, there is a sloping buttress, which is one of the characteristic features of the style of the Sayid and Lodi architecture. There are three doorways, 6½ feet wide, on

[1] See Plate XXVII for a plan of this tomb.

each side of the outer walls, and only one doorway, of the same width, on each side of the inner walls. These inner walls thus form eight great blocks of masonry, each of which contains two small rooms, 5½ feet long by 4 feet broad.

Externally there is a second storey, 15 feet broad all round, with a battlement parapet 4 feet thick, and an octagonal cupola 7½ feet in diameter in the middle of the terrace on each face.

Above this there is a third storey, which occupies two-thirds of the thickness of the inner walls, the innermost third being the wall of the dome, which is 5½ feet thick On the terrace there is a small cupola, 5 feet square, at each angle, and another in the middle of each face, or altogether sixteen small cupolas.

Externally the lower part of the dome is octagonal, with a small semi-circular minaret at each angle, above which it rises in hemisphere. The spring of the dome is 65 feet above the floor. Externally the dome is quite plain; but it is crowned by a handsome octagonal cupola, which stands on a spreading floriated base. There are several other examples of this ornamental style of cupola at Tejâra. The dates of the buildings are not quite certain, but I see no reason to doubt the belief of the people that one of them is the tomb of Alâ-ud-din Khânzâda, the son of Bahâdur Nâhar, who died between 840 and 850 A.H. Some, however, say that it is the tomb of Alâ-ud-din Alam Shâh, the brother of Sikandar Lodi, who was governor of Tejâra for many years. The tomb of Mubârak Sayid, in Mubârakpur Kotila at Delhi, has a similar style of cupola, but in a much less developed form. Mubârak was assassinated in A.H. 837. There is also an example of the same form on a great Tomb at Alwar, which bears the name of Fateh Jang, and the date of Samvat 1604, or A.H. 954.

This grand tomb at Tejâra stands in the middle of a small earthen redoubt, with a ditch and ramparts all round. It is now used as a barn by the Hindû proprietor.

At a short distance to the south-west of Bhartari there is a very pretty stone masjid, standing on an earthen terrace, raised 10 feet above the fields. It is 77 feet long by 25 feet broad, with three openings in front, but only one dome is visible from the outside. In front of the entrance, at a distance of 21 feet, there is a neatly built tomb, 32 feet 10 inches square, resting on a stone plinth 35 feet square. This is said to be the resting-place of the last of the Khânzâdas, named Hasan Khân, the opponent of Bâber, who fell on the fatal field of Khânwa in A.H. 933 (16th March A.D. 1527). Inside the tomb is 25 feet square, with a doorway on each side. The building has the usual wide-spreading caves and battlements, with a hemispherical dome, surmounted by an octagonal cupola, on a spreading foliated base. There is no inscription of any kind, but the people are unanimous in assigning the tomb to Hasan Khân.

At a short distance outside the town on the east there is a well-built stone mosque which is simply known as the Lâl Masjid, from its red colour. It is 115 feet long by 40 feet broad outside, with fluted minârs at the four corners There are arched doorways in front, opening into a long room, 100 feet by 25 feet, which was once covered by three domes, of which the middle one was taller and larger than the others. The south dome has now fallen. The centre dome is hemispherical, with the remains of a spreading foliated base of a pillared cupola on the top. The date of the building is unknown.

Near Hasan Khân's tomb there is a well-built tomb standing in the midst of a raised courtyard, with a ruined gateway on the east side. Both tomb and gateway are inscribed with verses from the Korân in well-formed letters generally in good preservation. Nothing is known about the owner of the tomb.

The town of Tejâra is frequently mentioned during the long period of the Khânzâda government, or for nearly a century and-a-half, from the death of Firoz Tughlak in A.H. 790 to the battle of Khânwa in A.H. 933. Its foundation is ascribed to Tej Pâl, the Yaduvansi Râjâ, who sought refuge

with the Râjâ of Sarhata on the capture of Bayâna and Tahangarh by the first Muhammadan king, Muhammad bin Sâm. The ruins of Tej Pâl's palace are still pointed out in Mohalla Mirdhon of Tejâra, and his descendants are said to have resided there until they became Muhammadans in the reign of Firoz Tughlak, when Sâmbhar Pâl moved to Sarhata as Bahâdur Khân Nahar, while his brother Sopar Pâl moved to Jhirkâ-Firozpur as Chajjukhan. Some say that it was their father Lakhan Pâl who first embraced Islâm.

In A.H. 812, or A.D. 1411, Tejâra and Sarhata were plundered by Khizr Khân, governor of the Panjâb, who in 817 became king of Delhi.[1] Baber says that the ancestors of his opponent Hasan Khân had governed Mewât in uninterrupted succession for nearly 200 years, and that Tejâra was their capital.[2] In another place he calls him Râjâ Hasan Khân Mewâti, an infidel, who was the prime mover and agitator in the insurrection against the Mughals.[3] The title of Râjâ and the term "infidel" show that Bâber was aware of Hasan Khân's Hindu descent, and the period of "nearly 200 years" most probably refers to the date when his ancestor became a Muhammadan in the reign of Firoz Shâh between A.H. 752 and 790.

XXXII.—SARHATA.

The old town of Sarhata, now a mere village, is situated under the hills 4 miles to the east of Tejâra. It is said to have been the capital of the early rulers of the country before the Muhammadan conquest, when Tej Pâl Yaduvansi fled from Bayâna, and sought refuge with the descendant of Susarmâjit, Râjâ of Sarhata. In spite of its ruined condition, I obtained twenty-eight old coins at Sarhata of which three were Indo-Scythian.

The only building of any consequence now remaining at Sarhata is a stone masjid called Mahal. It is a long pillared hall of three aisles, with seven arched openings in front, sup-

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 44.
[2] Bâber's Memoirs, pp. 368-69.
[3] *Ibid.*, p 335.

ported on double square pillars.[1] The dimensions are 65 by 30 feet outside, and 54½ by 26¾ feet inside. The building stands in a highly raised courtyard, upwards of 80 feet square, pierced with eight openings on each side. Its roof of twenty-one small domes forms a conspicuous object at some distance. The minârs at the back angles are sloping. Access to the roof is obtained by staircases in the thickness of the side walls. The back wall has the usual *mihrâbs*, or niches, as well as the usual projection outside immediately behind the central mihrâbs. The date of the masjid is not known, but from its general correspondence in dimensions and details with the masjid at Kotila, I think that it may be assigned to the time of Bahâdur Nâhar, who held Mewât under Firoz Tughlak and his immediate successors at the end of the 8th century of the Hizra. He is said to have made Sarhata his capital.

XXXIII.—BAHÂDURPUR.

The old town of Bahâdurpur is situated 13 miles to the north-east of Alwar, near the end of a low range of hills. It is supposed to have been founded or revived by Bahâdur Nâhar, or by one of his sons.[2] But as the name is written *Bahudravyapura* in a Jaina inscription, I suppose that the town must have flourished during the Hindû period, and that its name was changed to Bahâdurpur during the rule of Bahâdur Nâhar between 1375 and 1400 A.D. Major Powlett describes it as having once been—

> "extensive and flourishing, with large bazars and numerous fine houses, temples, and tombs."

The inscription just referred to is fixed in the wall of a ruined Jaina Temple on the east side of the town. I read it as follows—

1—Sam 1573 varse, Ashâdha badi 4 dine
Sri Bahudravyapura Sri Sri
2—Mâla Sanghenam Adinâtha chaityam kâritam
Pratishthitam Sri kha * * *
3—Sri Jina Hansa Suri vijayarâjye, âchârya
Sri Punya Ratna Sûriti.

[1] See Plate XXVIII for a plan of this masjid.
[2] Major Powlett in Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 279.

"In the year 1573 (A.D. 1516), on the 4th day of the waning moon of Ashâdha, in Sri Bahudravyapura, this temple of Adinâtha was built by the fortunate Mâla congregation under the prosperous pontiff Sri Jina Hansa Sûri, and the teacher Sri Punya Ratna Súri."

In an old well there is an Arabic inscription of many lines; but the whole is so much worn away as to be generally illegible. The usual opening of Bismillah, &c., can be traced.

XXXIV.—ALWAR.

The earliest notice of Alwar that I have been able to find is in Ferishta, who states that Hemrâj, in A.H. 590, or A.D. 1193, "issuing from the mountains of Alwar," had driven Gola Rai towards Ranthambhor, and that he retreated to Ajmer on Kutb-ud-din Aibak's advance.[1] The fort is said to have been built by the Nikumbha Râjpûts, who held the country before the Khânzâda occupation. Indor also is said to have been built by the Nikumbhas, but I failed to get any information about them. According to Major Powlett, they were extirpated by Alâwal Khân Khânzâda in Samvat 1549, or A.D. 1482, near the end of Bahlol Lodi's reign. Alâwal Khân would appear to have been a son of Ahmad Khân and the uncle of Hasan Khân, the opponent of Baber.

The origin of the name is unknown. Major Powlett mentions that some derive it from *Alpur*, the "strong city," and others from *Arbal,* the name of the mountain range on which it is situated. *Arbali* means "higgledy-piggledy," which is descriptive of this broken and confused mass of hills. *Arbali* also is applied to any broken ground. Arbalpur, or Alpur, would therefore simply mean the city, or fort, on the Arbali hills. I have a strong suspicion, however, that the old name was derived from the tribe of Salwas, as the early Muhammadan authors mention the capital city of *Salmur,* in the hills to the south of Delhi. *Salwapura* would become Salwar, and as the name is spelt with the palatal S. it might pass easily through Halwar to Alwar. The country of the Salwas appears to have lain between the Saraswati and the Jumna, and adjacent to Matsya.

[1] Briggs's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 193.

There are no old Hindû buildings at Alwar, and there is only one Muhammadan building of any great age. This is apparently a Pathân tomb of early date. It now stands in the heart of the city, and two of the principal streets pass through it at right angles. The walls are very massive, and the dome is very low and flat. Nothing whatever is known about its builder.

Near the railway station there is a large square tomb of Fateh Jang, who died in Samvat 1604, or A.D. 1547. He is called a Pathân, and from the date I think he must have been the governor of Alwar under Islâm Shâh immediately preceding Chand Kâzi, whose inscription, fixed on the bank of the Salim Sâgar in the fort, is dated in A.H. 958, or A.D. 1550. The inscription of Fateh Jang is inscribed in Nâgari characters in the veranda of the ground-storey. It reads as follows :—

Samvat 1604
* * * 55 Phate Jang
Kha waphaiti pai terikh 27 Mâh sa—
wâl lâkh dâ (?) gumatani haini terikh 3 likhita tej (?)

Here the strange-looking *waphaiti* must be intended for the Arabic *wafât,* or "death," which took place on the 27th of the month of Shawâl. Fateh Jang is said to have been a relative of the King of Delhi.

The tomb is 60 feet square, and consists of three storeys of the same breadth, with seven openings on each face of each storey, and fluted octagonal minârs at the four angles. The dome springs from an octagonal neck standing on a fourth square storey, of smaller size, or about 40 feet each side. It is crowned by a small square cupola, resting on a foliated base, like those of the Tejâra Tombs.

The Tomb stands in the midst of a large square enclosure, with a small masjid on the west side, and a gateway on the south, which still preserves some traces of ornament in blue glazed tiles.

XXXV.—RÂJGARH.

The old town of Râjgarh is said to have been founded in

Samvat 202, or A.D. 145, by the Bargujâr Râjâ Bâgh Singh, and the Bâghola embankment, which spans the valley near the palace, is believed to have received its name from him. Whenever a son is born in Râjgarh, offerings are still made to Bâgh Singh, so that his memory is still green, although the rule of the Bargujârs has long since passed away. Some remains of the old town are pointed out, about one mile to the east of the palace, near the iron mines, where the walls of a large building about 100 feet square were being dug out at the time of my visit. The bricks were 18 by 9 by 3 inches, and may have formed part of Râjâ Bâgh Singh's city. They are certainly as old as the date assigned to him. Râjâ Bâgh Singh is said to have been changed into a lion, which is the figure now worshipped on the Bâghola embankment, under the form of a lion rampant, called Bâgh Râjâ. Offerings of sweetmeats and *roli* are made to him, and both goats and buffaloes are occasionally sacrificed in his honour.

Under a banyan tree on the Bâghola embankment there are three life-size Jain figures, all standing upright and naked. There are also the two jambs of a highly ornamented doorway of a temple, besides numerous broken figures, all apparently Jain. They are said to have been dug up 100 years ago, when the present town was being built.

New Râjgarh, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, is situated in a gorge of the hills, 22 miles to the south of Alwar. The fort was built by Pratâp Singh Naruka, and the ditch was added by Banni Singh. But Râjgarh suffered considerably by the removal of the capital of the Naruka chiefs to Alwar towards the end of the last century. Its former extent is shown by the numbers of fine gardens which now surround it on all sides.

XXXVI.—TALAO.

The village of Talao received its name from the fine large sheet of water on which it is situated. It lies between two ranges of hills at the eastern end of an almost circular valley, about 8 miles in diameter. In the middle is Tehla, with a

small fort on an isolated hill, and at the west end is Dapkan, at the foot of the ghât leading up to the ruined city of Pâranagar, and the holy temple of Nilkanth Mahâdeo. Talao is 14 miles to the west of Râjgarh and 25 miles to the south-south-west of Alwar. The lake was about 600 yards long from north to south by 400 yards from east to west at the time of my visit in February. On the west there is a broad artificial embankment, with an outlet at the south-west corner. The village is to the north of the lake.

On the north side of the lake there is a ruined temple standing in the water, about 100 feet from the bank. The temple is called *Jalsin.*[1] It is approached by a narrow earthen causeway, which is covered by the water during the rainy season. The temple consisted of the usual open hall, or *mândapa*, supported on sixteen pillars. The entrance was on the north side facing the village through a portico of two pillars. On the east and west sides there were similar two pillared porticoes, and on the south was the sanctum, which has now altogether disappeared, with the exception of two architraves lying in the water. The mandapa was 29 feet square. The pillars are all square with the angles indented. Including the bases and bracket capitals they are 7 feet 9 inches high. All are highly ornamented with human figures. Inside there are a few small niches still remaining, with figures of Hara-Gauri and Durgâ seated on a lion, which prove that the temple must have been dedicated to Siva.

There is an inscription on one of the pillars ; but it is only a pilgrim's rude scrawl, and is in such bad order that I could not read three consecutive letters, and I was unable to find any traces of a date.

The lake is said to have been made by a Bargujar Râjâ named Menh, or Mehan. When it was finished, the water all became blood-red. The Râjâ consulted his pandits, who told him that the water had become impure because the work had been done by low-caste Khatiks (or Chamârs), and they suggested that the only way of purifying it was by sacrificing

[1] See Plate XXIX for a plan of this temple.

his son, with his wife, his horse, and his servants, in the lake. The Râjâ consulted his son, who agreed to the sacrifice. The red water was then drained off, and a room built in the bottom of the lake; into which the Râjâ's son, with his wife, his horse, and his servants, all entered. Six months' food was given to them, and the room was closed, and a temple built over it; and when the rainy season came on, when the lake was again filled, the water remained pure.

It is the universal belief that whenever the water of the lake overflows, the Râjâ's son, named Chaturbhuj, is seen at night riding down the hill on a blue horse from the highest point, which is therefore called Raja-ki-dungri. Some say that two torches are carried before him, and that his servants follow behind until all disappear in the lake.

According to another version the appearance of the Râjâ's son riding on the blue horse precedes the fall of rain.

XXXVII.—PÂRANAGAR.

The old capital of the Bargujar Râjâs, named Pâranagar, is situated on a lofty range of hills, 8 miles to the west of Talao, and 28 miles to the south-west of Alwar. It is a large fortified city of difficult access, but is chiefly remarkable for its possession of the holy temple of Nilkanth Mahâdeo, which is the most famous place of pilgrimage in this part of the country. Major Powlett describes it as follows[1]:—

"At one time on the plateau of these hills there was a considerable town, adorned with temples and statuary. Its old name is Râjor or Râjorgarh. It was the old capital of the Bargujar tribe of Râjpûts when they ruled in this region. Tod speaks of it as a place of great antiquity. The most remarkable remains are a colossal human figure cut out of the rock, similar to some of those on the fort-rock at Gwalior; a comparatively large pyramidal domed temple, richly decorated with figures, which, here and in porches, seem deserving of study; columns there are beautifully sculptured in the style of those at Baraoli in Mewâr, though on a much smaller scale, and of the temple of Amarnâth, not far from Bombay. Indeed, the temples at all three places are both in honour of the same deity—Siva,

[1] Gazetteer of Rajputana, Vol. III, p. 287.

and, as inscriptions show, erections of the same century, or within a few years of the same century, of the Hindû era, namely, the tenth. The date, Samvat 1010, is clearly legible on a figure of Ganesh in the large temple of Nilkanth."

But the name of the ruined fort and city which was the capital of the Bargujar Râjâs is not *Râjor*, as stated by Tod and Major Powlett. Râjor is situated 4 miles to the north of the ruins, and the old capital is universally known as Pâranagar, and by no other name. I encamped at the foot of the hill, close to the village of Dapkan, or Dapkani, and within sight of the walls of Pâranagar, under which name it will be found in the Trigonometrical Map of India, Atlas Sheet No. 50, at 4¼ inches, or 17 miles direct, to the west of Râjgarh.

Rajâwar, or Rajauri, is also mentioned by Mr. Carlleyle as an ancient place of the Bargujars, but he calls the old capital Deoti.[1] There is a fine lake at Deoti, and also a palace belonging to the Râjâ of Alwar, but it was never a place of any size or consequence.

The ruins of Pâranagar extend for about one mile in length. The walls of the fort are attributed to Madhu Singh, or Mându Singh. The former was a Râjâ of Jaypûr, who reigned from A.D. 1760 to 1778. The latter gave his name to the fine tank Mându Tâla, at the foot of the Pâranagar Hill, near the village of Dapkan. One of the gates of the city is still called after Jay Singh, Râjâ of Jaypûr, who reigned from A.D. 1698 to 1742. It seems certain, therefore, that Pâranagar must have continued to be a place of some consequence down to the beginning, and perhaps as late as the middle, of the last century. I would attribute its decline to the permanent removal of the ruling authority to Alwar in the latter half of the last century.

Inside Pâranagar there is an old tank called Lachoro, and on its embankments there still exist many temples. Many buildings also and bâolis still remain amongst the ruins. In one of the ruined temples there is a colossal Jaina figure,

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. VI, p. 83.

13 feet 9 inches high, with a canopy of 2 feet 6 inches overhead, which is supported by two elephants. The whole height of the sculpture is 16 feet 3 inches, and its breadth 6 feet.

The famous temple of Nilkanth Mahâdeo is said to have been built by Râjâ Ajay Pâl, one of the Bargujar chiefs. An inscription of twenty-two lines is said to have been found near the temple about two years ago by a Mina. It was supposed to have been taken to Alwar, but no one at Alwar had ever heard of it. There is, however, a short inscription under a figure of Ganesa, which bears the date of Samvat 1010, or A.D. 953; and this was most probably the date of the erection of that temple, as the general style of the building belongs to the period. The only words that I could read distinctly were "*Sri Mâhârâjâ*," the letters being much weather-worn and indistinct.

The temple of Nilkanth Mahâdeo is a lingam shrine dedicated to Siva. The sanctum containing the lingam is only 6 feet square inside, and 18 by 14 feet outside. The temple faces the west. At the entrance to the sanctum there is the usual outer room, or *ardha-mandapa*, and beyond it the open hall, or *maha-mandapa*, supported on sixteen pillars, with an open portico on each of the other three sides.[1] The four central pillars of the hall are round, 16½ inches in diameter, and all the others are 18 inches square with the angles indented. They are 10 feet 10 inches in height, and are ornamented with bands of men and lions. Outside the sanctum is covered with a spire, which rises to 38 feet in height to the base of the pinnacle. On all three sides there is a band of figures 2 feet 9 inches in height. On the south the middle figure is Siva with eight arms. On the north side is Nara Sinha, and on the east side, or back of the temple, is Surya. The roof of the hall, or *maha-mandapa*, is very richly carved. The whole building is 59 feet broad, with a height of about 45 feet to the top of the pinnacle that crowns the spire.

Nothing is known about Râjâ Ajaya Pâl; but we may safely accept him as a Bargujar Râjâ, as the date of Samvat

[1] See Plate XXIX for a plan of this temple.

1010, or A.D. 953, is long antecedent to the Kachwâha settlement in Dhundâr.

Close to the village of Dapkan, at the foot of the hill, there are the rough foundation walls of several ruined temples, amongst which I found a figure of Ganesa, and many fragments of naked Jaina sculptures. To the south of the village there is a long embankment of a tank now dry. On it there are the remains of several temples. Dapkan, therefore, would appear to have been a place of some size when Pâranagar was the capital.

XXXVIII.—FIROZPUR-JHIRKA.

Jhirka, or Firozpur-Jhirka, as it is commonly called, is a very old town at the southern end of the Gurgaon district, 75 miles to the south of Delhi. It is situated at the mouth of a ravine which forms a narrow but easy pass leading towards Tejâra, 14 miles to the north. The old Hindû name of Jhirka, or Jharka, was derived from the springs of water which spurt from the rocks in the pass, and form a perennial stream, with numerous clear and sparkling pools. There are many pretty nooks in the pass, with remains of fortifications in two or three places. The town itself is fortified, but its strength lies in the position at the mouth of a narrow ravine, which could be easily defended by small numbers. In early days the position was, no doubt, covered by thick jungle. Here the Mewâtis always sought safety when hard pressed by the Delhi troops. Thus, in A.H. 795, or A.D. 1393, Bahâdur Nâhir, when attacked by Tughlak II, abandoned Kotila, and fled to *Jhirka*. Again, in A.H. 828, when Mubârak Sayid ravaged Mewât, the people took refuge in *Jahra* (read Jharka, and not Tejâra, as Colonel Powlett suggests). Here also Sher Shâh's famous general Khawâs Khân retired from the persecution of Islâm Shâh, and here he defeated the king's army. Near Firozpur-Jhirka the famous prince Sangrâm Sâh of Mewât was joined by the Khânzâda chief Hasan Khân, before marching to oppose Bâber.[1] This junction

[1] Bâber's Memoirs, p. 370.

of his enemies' troops at Jhirka most probably brought the place to Bâber's notice, as he mentions that "he had heard much of the fountain of Firozpur, and of the great tank of Kotila." On Sunday (14th April 1527) he records his visit thus—

"I mounted and rode out from the camp, for the double purpose of seeing the country, and of conducting Humâyun to some distance on his way. That day I went to visit Pirozpur and its fountain, and took a Maajûn. In the valley from which the water of the fountain flows, the Kanîr flowers were all in full bloom. It is very beautiful, though it will not support the high praises lavished upon it. Within this valley, where the stream widens, I directed a reservoir to be made of hewn stone, 10 feet by 10 feet. We halted that night in the valley, and next morning rode to visit the tank of Kotila."

A small tank, about 20 feet square, still remains in the bed of the Jhirka stream.

On all sides of Firozpur there are tombs and masjids, the relies of former greatness; but, as they neither possess inscriptions nor are of any importance architecturally, it is not worth while to describe them.

Under the hills to the west of the town there is a large Hindû building called Bhond-ka-Deora, or simply Deora, which is curious from the novelty of its plan.[1] In front there is a large hall of 56 feet square. It is divided into five aisles each way by six rows of stout octagonal pillars, 2 feet 3½ inches thick. The middle aisles are 8 feet 8 inches wide, those on each side of the centre are 8 feet wide, while the outer aisles are only 4 feet 2 inches. The whole space is thus divided into twenty-five bays, of which the central one and four others in the corners of the next aisles are roofed by hemispherical domes, the largest being ribbed melon-fashion. The other bays are roofed with flat vaults.

The temple is dedicated to Mahâdeva. In front the three central aisles have arched doorways; but the two narrow side aisles are closed. The projecting caves rest on brackets, between which are panels ornamented with sculptured flowers and elephants. Over the middle of each door-

[1] See Plate XXVIII for a plan of this temple.

way there is a large flower, and on each side of it there is an elephant. On the bases of the two central elephants there are short Nâgari inscriptions consisting of a single line : each is dated in Samvat 1578 = A.D. 1521, during the reign of Ibrâhim Lodi.

At first view the building looks very much like a masjid, but it may be more aptly compared with many of the Hindû temples in Bengal, which are usually square, with either five or nine domes, called respectively *pancha-ratna* and *nava-ratna*. The heavy octagonal pillars are also after the Bengali style, as seen in the mosques of Gaur and Hazrat Pandua. The whole of this pillared hall is a *bedi*. The actual temple is a three-roomed long building at the back, round which perambulation is made.

XXXIX.—KOTILA.

Kotila, the capital of the Khânzâda chief Bahâdur Khân Nâhir, where he received the envoys sent by Timur, is now only a small village of about a hundred houses. The name of Kotila properly belongs to the fort on the hill above. The site was probably chosen for security, as it is protected on the east by the large lake named Dahar, which is from 4 to 5 miles in length by upwards of 2 miles in breadth.

The village occupies high ground at the mouth of a ravine, which probably contained a running stream a few centuries back. There are traces of walls with earthen mounds or ramparts covering the village, from which the occupants could escape up the ravine, and over the hill, on the appearance of a large force. In fact, the Mewâtis always did retire from Kotila as soon as the enemy appeared before it.

The lake of Kotila was visited by Bâber, who calls it " the tank of Kotila." He describes it as follows :—

"One of its banks is formed by the side of a hill, and the river Manisni flows into it. It is a very large tank, but does not look well from either of its sides. In the midst of the tank is a rising ground; around it are a number of small boats. The inhabitânts of the towns on the banks of the tank, when any alarm or confusion occurs, embark in their boats, and make their escape. When I arrived there, a

number of people got into their boats, and rowed into the middle of the lake."[1]

In A.H. 793, or A.D. 1390, when Muhammad Bin Firoz Tughlak advanced against Kotila, he encamped on the bank of the "Dahand" (read *Dahar*, or "the lake"), and Bahâdur Nâhir fled to Jhirka.[2]

In A.H. 824, or A.D. 421, Khizr Khan Sayid marched into Mewât, and besieged the fort of Kotila, which after capture he destroyed.[3]

The fort still exists, but is unoccupied. The northern wall, with its gate at the north-east corner, is still standing. It rises about 600 or 700 feet above the village, and the only approach from the east is by a narrow foot-path, as the rocky hill is generally very precipitous.

On a high mound in the middle of the old town there is a very fine stone masjid, with a tomb standing in front of it in the middle of a large enclosure. These buildings are the Jâmi Masjid and the tomb of Bahâdur Khân Nâhir, the contemporary of Timur. The Jâmi Masjid was begun in the reign of Muhammad Shâh, son of Firoz Tughlak, when he occupied Kotila during his campaign against the Mewâtis in A.H. 795. The building was not finished until A.H. 803, Muhammad Shâh having died in 796. The masjid itself is 66 feet long outside by 35 feet broad. Inside it is 59½ feet by 29¾ feet, the breadth being just half the length.[4] It consists of three aisles with seven arched openings to the front, making twenty-one spans, of which only the middle one is covered by a very small dome, all the rest having flat roofs. The outer corners at the back are strengthened by small sloping minâars, like those of Firoz Shâh's time. There is a mihrâb in each span of the back wall. Three openings in each end wall are closed by stout lattices of red stone. The mosque itself is of quartzite blocks, all squared.

The masjid stands at the western end of a grand court-

[1] Bâber's Memoirs, p. 370.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.
[4] See Plate XXX for a plan of this masjid.

yard, 92 feet in length to the inner side of the entrance gateway. The gateway itself is a square domed building of 25½ feet side, covered by a dome 14½ feet in diameter, which is approached by a grand flight of twenty steps on its three outer sides. Over the doorway, and covered from the weather, there is a long inscription giving the date of the building. The flight of steps is 15 feet high.

The courtyard is bounded on each side by a thick wall, pierced with eight openings, which were most probably filled with lattices originally. Not one now remains; and nearly the whole of the south wall has fallen down.

Inside the court, and within 6 feet of the masjid, there is an open bârâdari or twelve-pillared tomb, 21 feet square, which was once covered by a dome, most of which has now fallen. This building is made entirely of red sandstone. There is no trace of any inscription, and the people know nothing about it. No name is attached to it.

The following is the text and translation of the inscription over the entrance gateway of the Masjid[1]:—

بنا کرد این مسجد جامع بعهد محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه مجلس عالي
بهادر خان بعد خراب کردن بتخانه موضع سنبهلي سعي هندوان هرسالي
از اطرف جميع مي شدند و بت پرستي ميکردند چون قاضي اختيار الدين
و قاضي کانوه آن خبر بخان رسانيد خان قصد آن مقام کرد و آن بتخانه را
شکست و از اسباب آن بتخانه اين مسجد درسنه خمس و تسعين و
سبعمايه بنا فرموده · بعده حوادث مغل شده خان بدايشا پيوسته خان اعظم
خانزاده حاتم خان مرتب کرده و گنبذ دهليز بسعي جميل ملک قمردين
باتمام رسيده و بکار فرمائي مقرب الدين سرخيل شادي و خواجه عزيز اين

"This Jâmi Masjid was founded in the time of Muhammad Shâh, son of Firoz Shâh, by His Highness (Majlis Aali) Bahâdur Khân after the desecration of the temple (*Butkhâna*) in the town of Sambhaliki. Every year the Hindûs used to come in crowds from all

[1] See Plate XXXI for a facsimile of this inscription.

parts to worship the idol. When the Khân heard this, he went there and pulled down the temple, and with its materials founded this mosque in the year 795 (A.H.) Soon after came the Mughal invasion, in which the Khân was involved. He then made over the work to the Khânzâda Hâtim Khân. The dome of the gateway was finished by the exertions of Jamîl Malik Kamar-din, and by the labours of Mukarrab-ud-din, headman of Shâdi The mosque was finished by Khwâjah Aziz on the 12th of Rabi-ul-awal, 803 A.H. (Sunday, 31st October 1400, A.D.)"

The above reads very much like a passage from the Memoirs of Firoz Shâh, which were written only a few years previously[1]:—

"The Hindûs and idol-worshippers, says the king, had agreed to pay the money for toleration (*zar-i-zimmiya*), and had consented to the poll tax (*Jizya*), in return for which they and their families enjoyon security. These people now erected new idol temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the law of the Prophet, which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and I killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance: In the village of Malûk there is a tank which they call *kund* (tank). Here they had built idol temples, and on certain days the Hindûs were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the *bazar* people took out all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls, and sold their goods. Some graceless Musalmâns, thinking only of their own gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears, my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islâm. On the day of assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and prompters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbade the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindûs in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques. I founded two flourishing towns (*kasba*), one called Tughlakpur, and the other Salârpur. Where infidels and idolators worshipped idols, Musalmâns now, by God's mercy, perform their devotions to the true God. Praises of

[1] Futuhât-i-Firoz Shâhi, in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p 380.

God and the summons to prayer are now heard there, and that place, which was formerly the home of infidels, has become the habitation of the faithful, who there repeat their creed, and offer up their praises to God."

From this extract, as well as from other passages in the autobiography of Firoz Tughlak, it appears that this much-belauded king was an intolerant bigot, who persecuted his Hindû subjects on account of their religion.

The town of *Sambhali*, now known as Shahâbad, stands 4 miles to the west of Tejâra. It possesses several tombs of the Khânzâda chiefs; but, as they were reported to be without inscriptions, I did not visit the place.

XL.—INDOR.

The old fort of Indor, one of the strongholds of the Khânzâda chiefs of Mewât, is situated on the hill range which forms the boundary between the Alwar territory and the British district of Gurgaon. It is 6 miles to the north of Kotila, and about 70 miles to south of Delhi. The old ruined town lies to the east in the valley below, and has now shrunk to an "insignificant village."[1] The foundation of the fort is ascribed to the Nikumbha Râjâs, about whom nobody seems to know anything but the name. All, however, admit that they preceded the Jadonvansi ancestors of the Khânzâdas.

The fort of Indor stands on the western edge of the hill range, and is quite invisible from the east. This part of the range is called Kolla-pahâr, and is about 4 miles in diameter. On the east side there is no means of access, except by a very bad rocky foot-path. The fort is frequently mentioned in mediæval Muhammadan history, as follows :—

In A.H. 829, or A.D. 1425; Jallu and Kaddu (the grandsons of Bahâdur Nâhir)—

"took up a position in the mountains of *Andwar*. They were attacked for several days by the royal forces, who drove them out of Andwar, and then they went to the mountains of Alwar. Next day His Majesty destroyed the fortified post of Andwar, and marched against Alwar. When Jallu and Kaddu posted themselves there the

[1] Major Powlett in Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 261.

royal forces followed them. At length they were reduced to distress, and were compelled to surrender. His Majesty granted them quarter, and afterwards graciously gave Kaddu a reception." [1]

In A.H. 832, or A.D. 1428, Mubârak Sayid marched into Mewât to the palace of *Hindwâri* (*read* Indor), when Jalâl Khân (Jallu) submitted, and paid tribute as usual.[2]

In A.H. 836, or A.D. 1432, Jalâl Khân shut himself up in the fort of *Andaru* (*read* Indor), which he afterwards burnt and deserted.[3]

In all these three instances Professor Dowson has failed to recognise the name of Indor, which was the favourite residence of the Khânzâda Jalâl Khân. His tomb also is at Indor, and his name is connected with all the traditions of the place. In my account of the family of the Khânzâdas I have referred to the traditions still current about Jalâl Khân.

The dargâh, or tomb, of Jalâl Khân is an oblong building, 95 feet by 34 feet outside, with three rooms inside, each 22 feet 3 inches square. The long walls are 6½ feet thick, and the end walls are each 7 feet 10 inches. The roof consists of three massive hemispherical domes. In the middle room is the grave of Jalâl himself, with three others. In the eastern room there are eight large and one small grave, and in the western room are eight large and two small graves. All these, no doubt, belong to members of his family. There are about twenty other domed tombs in the neighbourhood, but they are small, and without inscriptions, except the Kalimeh. To the north-west there is a tank called Chanda-tâl; and to the west there is a khângah, or shrine, of Chandan Shâhid, or the "Martyr."

Major Powlett states that

"the present Khânzâdas of Indor are poor, but they hold the proprietorship, and maintain a Mulla to call the *Azân*, or summons to prayers, and to educate their children. They do not yet plough with their own hands, and they preserve the records of better days. One

[1] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, p. 61.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 67.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 75.

document they produce dated Rabi-ul-Awal, Hijra 970, and bearing the Emperor Akbar's seal, directs the Chaudhari, Kanungo, and Mukaddams of 'Sirkâr Alwar' to assist certain Khânzâdas of the Indor family who had been commissioned to put down insurrection in that Sirkâr."[1]

XLI.—PALAH.

The small village of Palah lies at the very foot of the range of hills 6 miles to the north of Indor, 2½ miles to the north-west of Noh, and 12 miles to the south of Sohna. The village is noted for a very holy shrine of the saint Khwâjah Musa. The shrine is a square enclosure of white marble trellis-work, with a low white marble sarcophagus in the middle.

On the tombstone itself the only inscription is the Kalimeh in Arabic letters. On a slab near the foot of the trellis there is the following inscription :—

Ba-janat residah—734.

The letters of these words give the same date according to the values of the Abjad.

In raised letters inside the enclosure there is the following inscription, which is repeated outside the enclosure in sunken letters :—

In Mahjar sharif binâ namudah Shekh Abd-us-Samad bin Khwâja Ahmad, bin Muhammad Hâshim, Nabirah Hazrat; batârikh Nûzdaham Shahar Shawâl, Sanh 1142 Muratib shud.

Of Khwâjah Musa himself I failed to obtain any information. The date of his death falls within the reign of Muhammad Tughlak.

XLII.—SOHNA.

Sohna is famed for its hot springs, as well as for the masjid and tomb of the holy saint Hazrat Shâh Najm-ul-Hak. The descendant of the saint, a pleasant old man named Rahim Baksh, showed me a *Farmân* of Akbar, granting the sum of R100 annually on the anniversary of the saint's death, and 1 rupee daily for lâmps. It is said that upwards

[1] Gazetteer of Rajputana, Vol. III, p. 262.

of 1,431 bighas of land were originally settled on this shrine, of which only 60 bighas are now left. Rahim Baksh told me that nine generations have passed since the death of the saint Najm-ul-Hak. At the outside nine generations would not represent more than 300 years, or, say, A.H. 1000. Now the *Farman* of Akbar is dated in the month of Isfandiâr Ilahi, and Jalus 50, or A.H. 1012-13, or A.D. 1603-04. There are some large Arabic inscriptions on the entrance gateway of the enclosure; but they contain only verses from the Korân. On one of the pillars of the tomb there is a short Nâgari inscription dated in Samvat 1561, or A.D. 1504, which is equivalent to A.H. 910. Lastly, on the trellis screen at the south end of the mosque there is engraved the number 881, which, if intended for the Hijra date, would be equivalent to A.D. 1481. I have a suspicion that both pillar and trellis may have belonged to some earlier building. But the whole style and plan of the mosque, with its tomb and gateway, is so like that of Bahâdur Khân at Kotila that I think the date must be at least a century earlier than the time of Akbar. Perhaps, therefore, the Hijra date of 881, or A.D. 1481, represents the period of its erection, while the pillar inscription of Samvat 1561, or A.D. 1504 may have been added afterwards.

The mosque is 73 feet long by 32 feet broad outside. The courtyard in front is 108 feet long, and the domed gateway projects 14 feet beyond the walls of the enclosure, making a total length of 154 feet. The gateway itself is a fine building, 28 feet 3 inches square, with a lofty flight of steps in front. The tomb in front of the masjid is 18 feet square. Each of the side walls of the enclosure is pierced with ten arched openings. The mosque consists of three long aisles, with seven arched doorways in front, the whole supported on stone pillars, the outer row of pillars being a double one. There are only three hemispherical domes over the alternate bays of the middle aisle. They are all melon-shaped outside.

On a second high mound just outside the town on the north there is another masjid, 69 feet long, which is said to be older than that of Najm-ul-Hak. It is fitted up as a dâk

bungalow. Close to it, on the south side, there is a small twelve-pillared tomb, 21 feet 4 inches square. Twenty feet further to the south there is a large tomb, 40 feet square. It is divided into three aisles each way, making nine bays, of which the middle and four corner ones are covered with hemispherical domes. Nothing whatever is known about the owner of the tomb.

To the east of this tomb there is a large masjid, 95 feet 9 inches long by 27 feet 2 inches broad, which bears the name of Kutb Khân-ki-Masjid. Kutb Khân is said to have belonged to the Khânzâda family. The mosque is very substantially built of grey stone from the neighbouring hills with slightly projecting ornaments, of various patterns, in different coloured stones. The whole style, as well as the plan of the building, reminded me strongly of the fine Kila-kohna mosque of Sher Shâh at Delhi. I think, therefore, that it may be ascribed to the middle of the 10th century of the Hijra, or about A.D. 1550.

XLIII.—BHONSI.

Bhonsi is a large village at the foot of the hill range just half way between Sohna and Gurgaon. It possesses an old stone masjid, with a tomb in the middle of the enclosure and a fine entrance gateway, the whole standing on a high platform. The builder's name is unknown, but he is said to have belonged to the Khânzâda family of Mewât.

The masjid is a substantial stone building, 74 feet 8 inches long by 27 feet 4 inches broad. It consists of three domed apartments, the middle one being 18 feet 8 inches square, and the side ones 17 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 3 inches. The walls are 6 feet thick, and there is a staircase in the thickness of each of the end walls, giving access to the roof.

The tomb in front of the masjid is of the usual square Bâradari plan, 22 feet square, with the corners cut off, to form an octagon for the support of a hemispherical dome.

The gateway is 27 feet 10 inches square. It stands completely inside the courtyard, its outer walls being flush with the east wall of the open enclosure. At each of the two

eastern corners of the courtyard there is a projecting turreted room, 12 feet square, the object of which I could not discover. The ornament and inscriptions from the Korân are all raised in stucco, like those which prevailed from the time of Firoz Tughlak to the end of the Lodi rule. In one place the date of Samvat 1691, or A.D. 1634, was found written in ink. This date corresponds with the reign of Shâh Jahân, but I think that the masjid must be at least one century earlier.

XLIV.—GURGAON.

At one mile to the north-east of the civil station of Gurgaon, and on the side of the unmetalled road leading to Bahâdurgarh, there is a standing pillar, 3 feet high, 12½ inches broad, and 5 inches thick. On the top there is a flowering ornament, below which is a panel containing two figures, one being a king seated on a morah, with his left leg raised, and his right foot resting on the ground. He holds up a flower in his right hand, and is apparently being addressed by an attendant, who is standing to the left, with his left hand holding a flower.

Below the panel there is an inscription of three lines in early mediæval characters, which reads as follows[1] :—

Samvachare sate 729
Vaisâkha badî 4 Dûrgga
Nâga lokâtari bhûta.

The date might perhaps be read as 928, but the characters seem too early for the period, and there is an upright stroke attached to the top of the unit figure which seems to make it a 9. The Samvat year 729 is equal to A.D. 672, and 928 is equivalent to A.D. 871. The person who set up the pillar was named Durgga Nâga, but nothing whatever is known about him, or the purpose for which the pillar was set up. understand it to record the death of one Durgga Nâga, on the 4th day of the waning moon of Vaisâkha, in the Samvat year 729, or A.D. 672, or perhaps in S. 928 = A.D. 871.

[1] See Plate X for a facsimile of this inscription.

XLV.—DELHI.

I closed my tour by a visit to the ruins of Delhi in the hope that I might find something that had escaped my notice on previous visits. And I was not disappointed, as will be seen in the following pages.

Every visitor to the great Kutb Masjid, and the Kutb Minâr and the Iron Pillar, has heard the story of Anang Pâl, the first of the Tomar Râjâs of Delhi, and the driving of a spike into the head of the snake king Vasuki. I have given several different versions of the story in my account of the ruins of Delhi[1] :—

"According to universal tradition, the Iron Pillar was erected by Bîlan Deo, or Anang Pâl, the founder of the Tomara dynasty, who was assured by a learned Brâhman that, as the foot of the pillar had been driven so deep into the ground that it rested on the head of Vasuki, king of the serpents (who supports the earth), it was now immoveable, and that dominion would remain in his family as long as the pillar stood. But the Râjâ, doubting the truth of the Brâhman's statement, ordered the pillar to be dug up, when the foot of it was found wet with the blood of the serpent king, whose head it had pierced. Regretting his unbelief the Iron Pillar was again raised; but owing to the king's former incredulity, every plan now failed in fixing it firmly, and, in spite of all his efforts, it still remained loose (*dhîla*) in the ground, and this is said to have been the origin of the name of the ancient city of Dhili.

"This tradition has been variously reported by different authorities, but the main points are the same in all. Colonel Tod states that the Iron Pillar is said to be resting on the head of Sahes Nâg, who is the same as Vasuki, the serpent king. A lady traveller, who visited Delhi between 1804 and 1814, heard the tradition in a somewhat different way. A Brâhman told the king that if he could place the seat of his government on the head of the snake that supports the world, his kingdom would last for ever. The Iron Pillar was accordingly driven into the ground on its present site, under the superintendence of the Brâhman who announced that the lucky spot had been found. On hearing this, a courtier, jealous of the Brâhman's influence, declared that the pillar was not placed over the serpent's head, but that he could point out the true place, which he had seen

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. I, p. 170.

in a dream. The pillar was accordingly taken up by the Râjâ's order, and agreeably to the Brahman's prediction, the foot of it was found wet with the blood of the serpent's head."

This tradition is also imperfectly related in Purchas's Pilgrims, on the authority of English travellers who visited India during the reigns of Jahângir and Shâhjahân. Purchas states that the Rose (Râjâ) who founded Delhi, by advice of his magicians, tried the ground by driving an iron stake, which came up bloody, having wounded a snake. This the Pande (Pânde, or Pandit), or magician, said was a fortunate sign. In all these different vérsions of the erection of the Iron Pillar, the main points of the story are the same, and the popular belief in this tradition is confirmed by the well-known verse—

"*Killî to dhîlî bhai.*
Tomar bhaya mat hin."
"The pillar became loose;
The Tomar's wish will not be fulfilled."

The tradition is related in a more poetical form by Kharg Rai, who wrote in the reign of Shâhjahân. Acording to him, the Tomar prince was provided by the sage Vyâs with a golden nail, or spike, 25 fingers in length, which he was told to drive into the ground. At a lucky moment, on the 13th day of the waning moon of Vaisâkha, in the Samvat year 792, or A.D. 735, when the moon was in the mansion of Abhijet, the spike was driven into the ground by the Râjâ. Then said Vyâs to the king—

"Tum se râj kadi jaega nahin,
Yih khunti Vasug ke mâthe gadhi hai."
"Ne'er will thy kingdom be besped,
The spike hath pierced Vasuki's head."

Vyâs had no sooner departed than the incredulous Râjâ boldly declared his disbelief in the sage's announcement, when immediately—

"Bilan De khunti ukhârh dekih,
Tab lohu se chuchati nikali."
"He saw the spike thrown on the ground,
Blood dropping from the serpent's wound."

The sage was recalled by the horrified king, who was directed to drive the stake into the ground a second time. Again he struck, but the spike penetrated only nineteen fingers, and remained loose in the ground. Once more then the sage addressed the Râjâ prophetically,—

> " Like the spike (*killi*) which you have driven, your dynasty will be unstable (*dhilli*), and after nineteen generations it will be supplanted by the Chauhâns, and they by the Turkâns."

Bilan De then became king of Dẹlhi, and with his descendants held the throne for nineteen generations, according to the number of fingers' lengths which the spike had been driven into the ground.[1]

The following is Chand's own account of this event as related in the book named *Killi-dhilli-katha*, or " Story of the Loose Pillar," in his Prithi Râj Râsa. He, however, refers the event to the time of Anang Pâl, who wished to ascertain the fortunate hour for holding a great festival in honour of the birth of his grandson Prithi Râj. He enquired from Vyâs or Jagjoti Brâhman, who after a short consideration replied—

> " Now is the lucky time ;—your dynasty will become immoveable, and its root will strike into the head of Seshnâg. But the Râjâ was incredulous, when Vyâs, taking an iron spike, drove it down 60 fingers deep until it reached the serpent's head, and drawing it out he showed it to the Râjâ covered with blood.

Then addressing Anang Pâl, he said—

> " Your kingdom like the spike will become unstable."

> Thus saith the seer Vyâs,
> Things that must come to pass ;
> Now the Tomars, next Chauhâns,
> And shortly after the Turkâns.

The Râjâ in a rage expelled Vyâs, who retired to Ajmer, where he was hospitably received by the Chauhâns on account of his prophecy in favour of their race.[2]

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, pp. 171-73.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 174-75.

This version was heard by Colonel Francklin in 1793. Speaking of the Iron Pillar he notes—

"Tradition says it was raised by the grandfather of Pithora (the last Anang Pâl. The sceptre would not depart while the column stood: Kutb-ud-din in contempt allowed it to remain."

I have quoted these different accounts for the purpose of showing that the story is older than even the first Anang Pâl, and that it did not apply to Delhi. The following is Hwen Thsang's account of a similar event which was said to have taken place at the foundation of the great Nâlanda monastery by king Sakraditya :—

"A short time after the death of Buddha, Sakraditya, the first king of this kingdom, reverenced the Tri Ratna. Having selected a lucky site he built a monastery. When the work was begun they wounded, in digging, the body of a dragon.

"At this time there was a Nirgrantha heretic who was a good diviner. When he saw the place l e made this prediction : 'c'est un terrain d'un ordre supérieur,' &c.,—If you build a monastery there it will be always flourishing. During a thousand years its fame will continue to increase. Students will readily learn ; but many will be affected with vomiting of blood, on account of the dragon's wound."[1]

Now, according to Hwen Thsang's belief, the monastery of Nâlanda was founded about the middle of the period which had intervened between the Nirvâna of Buddha and his own time, or somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. The prophecy of one thousand years was, therefore, amply fulfilled, as the great Nâlanda monastery continued to flourish down to the Muhammadan conquest under Bakhtiâr Khalji, when all the monks were killed, and their buildings burned.

XLVI.—MAHIPÂLPUR.

The village of Mahipâlpur is situated 4 miles to the north-west of the Kutb Masjid of old Delhi. Here are the tombs of Sultân Ghâri and of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and Muâz-ud-din Bahrâm. The Emperor Firoz Shâh, in his Fatuhât-i-Firoz-Shâhi, describes the two latter tombs as situated at

[1] Julian's Hwen Thsang, Vol. III, p. 42.

Malikpur. But Malikpur is now entirely deserted, and the nearest village is Mahipâlpur.

The tomb of Sultan Ghâri is sunk in the middle of an elevated courtyard, 84 feet square, with an entrance gateway and cloister on the east side, and a small mosque with cloister on the west side. The tomb, as we learn from the inscription round the entrance gateway, is that of Abul Fateh Mâhmud, and was built by his father Iltitmish in A.H. 629. Mâhmud, who was his eldest son, died as Governor of Bengal in A.H. 626, and his body was carried to Delhi for burial.

The platform of the courtyard is raised 14 feet above the ground outside, and the floor of the tomb is sunk 10 feet below the level of the court. Externally the tomb is an octagonal building of 15 feet side. The top of its flat roof rises only 5 feet above the court, and there is a flight of seven steps on the east side, alternately of red sandstone and white marble, leading to the top of the tomb. The walls are 4 feet 10 inches thick, and the entrance on the south side is only 2 feet 9 inches wide and 4 feet high. Inside, there are four central pillars and one pillar in each corner of the octagon. These pillars, which are in two pieces, are 13 inches thick and 12 feet high. The sarcophagus of Mâhmud is against the western wall, while the centre is occupied by a much smaller tomb. I suspect, therefore, that this burial place may have been prepared by Mâhmud himself before he went to Bengal, and that the small central tomb may be that of his wife, beside which there are two smaller graves, which must be those of his children.

The word *Ghâr* means simply a "hole," or cave, and the term Sultân Ghâri means the "king whose tomb is in a cave.[1] And this is actually the case with the tomb as it stands at present. But I have a suspicion that the underground apartment was only the lower storey of the original tomb, and that the tomb proper was an open octagonal building with a pointed dome like those of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and Muâz-ud-din Bahrâm just outside the enclosure. Their tombs are

[1] Persian *Ghór;* Hindi, *Gár;* and Arabic *Kár,*—all mean cave or hole. The Arabic form is the word used in the inscription.

respectively 15½ feet and 17½ feet in exterior diameter. The octagon platform of Sultan Ghâri's tomb is 36 feet; but, as the walls are nearly 5 feet thick, the diameter of the octagon need not have been more than 26 feet inside, which is exactly the size of the central dome of the Kutb Masjid, and was, therefore, not beyond the range of a Hindu overlapping vault.[1]

The entrance gateway consists of two flights of steps, flanked by a square room on each side, outside the wall of the enclosure. The archway is formed by overlapping courses of stone. Round the doorway there is a long inscription in Arabic letters—inches high. On the right and on the top are the high-sounding titles, and the name, of Shams-ud-din Iltitmish, followed on the left by the name and titles of his son Mâhmud, " Lord of the Eastern Provinces." The words are *Malik Maluk ush Shark, Abi-ul-Fateh, Mâhmud.*[2]

Inside the enclosure there is a cloister of six pillars against the eastern wall, with two arched openings in the enclosure wall on each side. Each of the two side walls of the enclosure is pierced with six openings with a narrow flight of steps in the middle formed in the thickness of the walls for the purpose of giving access to the roofs. At each of the four corners there is a round tower, with sloping walls, covered by a dome of overlapping courses of stones.

On the west side of the enclosure there is a small masjid of white marble, 12 feet 8 inches square in front, and 13 feet 10½ inches deep. It has four square fluted pillars in front, with one at each side, and two pilasters against the back wall. The superstructure is square with an octagonal plinth above, supporting a pyramidal pointed dome. The floor of this mosque is also of white marble, and in its north-west corner there is an argha of a Hindu lingam let into the pavement, which serves to point out the quarry from whence the marble pillars were obtained. The roof is flat inside.

On each side of the masjid there is a five-pillared cloister, 7 feet wide, extending to the side walls of the enclosure.

[1] See Plate XXXII.
[2] A copy of the inscription is given in Sayid Ahmad's Asâr-us-Sanâdid.

Here, again, the Hindû quarry from which these pillars were brought is shown by a white marble base being placed under a red sandstone shaft.

Outside the enclosure, on the south-east, there are two small-domed tombs which are assigned by Sayad Ahmad to Sultân Rukn-ud-din Firoz and Sultân Müiz-ud-din Bahrâm, the sons of Iltitmish. These assignments are, no doubt, correct, as the position of their tombs is described by the Emperor Firoz Tughlak to be in Malikpur. He records that he rebuilt their domes, terraces, and enclosure walls. The domes are pointed and regularly built vaults, covered with a thick coat of plaster. This has preserved them both for upwards of 500 years since Firoz Shâh's time, and there are no trees and no grass growing on them even now.

There is a difficult passage in Firoz Shâh's autobiography regarding the tomb of the Emprerør Iltitmish, which, as it stands, is quite inexplicable, as not even a single paragraph of it can be applied to that building. He says[1]—

"The *Madrasa* (College) of Sultân Shams-ud-din Iltitmish had been destroyed. I rebuilt it and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tombs which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built, its court (*sahan*) had not been made curved (*kaj*), but I now made it so; I enlarged the hewn stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers of the four towers."

He then goes on to describe his repairs of the tombs at Malikpur of Rukn-ud-din Firoz and Müaz-ud-din Bahrâm.

Now, the tomb of Iltitmish, which still exists quite close to the south-west corner of the Kutb Masjid, never possessed any columns, nor any staircase leading to the dome, nor any towers at the four corners. It has struck me, therefore, that Firoz's account may probably refer to the tomb and other buildings of Sultân Ghâri. Now, we know that these were the work of Iltitmish as recorded in the inscription over the gateway. I would, therefore, identify the cloisters of the enclosed square with the *Madrasa*. The tomb of Sultân Ghâri still possesses columns underground; but, if I am right

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p. 383.

in supposing that there was originally an upper room with a domed roof supported on eight pillars, then these eight pillars would be those which Firoz restored, and the "hewn stone staircase" leading to the dome would be the flight of seven steps which now leads to the roof of the lower apartment, but which would then have been the floor of the domed room above. That this flight of steps was added by Firoz, I feel quite sure, as the steps consist alternately of white marble and red sandstone, a combination which Firoz employed in the upper storeys which he added to the Kutb Minâr. The only part difficult to explain is the statement about the *court* of the tomb, which he made *curved*. Now, the word صحن *sahan*, a "court," means also "area," and "square," and the word *kaj* or "curved" means also "bent and angular." I think it possible, therefore, that the area of the original tomb may have been square, and that when Firoz re-erected the fallen pillars he changed the shape to an angular octagon. This would have saved the four corner pillars of the square, which could then have been brought into use elsewhere.

XLVII.—BEGAMPUR.

Near Begampur there are numerous old buildings, of which nothing is known. But amongst them I found a platform covered with small tombs. On the western side the wall was raised to form an idgâh in the middle, with a small room at each end. Its inscription of three lines is curious—

مسجد تمام شده فی الثاني عشر من ربیع الاول سنه ثلث و ثمانمایه ،

در زمانه حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه باني مسجد و قبر

چندن خواجسره صندل ابن علاوالدین ابن الهیه حلوای سنه ۹۹۴ نهصد و

نود و چهار مبلغ میصد روپیه *

"During the reign of His Majesty Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, the king, were built this masjid and tomb of Chandan, or Sandal, the eunuch, son of Ala-ud-din, son of Ilahia, the sweetmeat-maker, in the year 994, nine hundred and ninety-four (A.D. 1585-86), at a cost of three hundred rupees."

XLVIII.—TOMB OF KABIR-UD-DIN AULIYA.

The pretty tomb of Kabir-ud-dîn Auliya, generally known as the Lâl Gumbaz, or "red dome," has hitherto escaped notice. I saw it first in 1871, when it struck me as being a fine, but plain, specimen of the older style of tombs, with sloping walls and pointed dome. Nothing was known about it, except that it was the tomb of Kabir-ud-din Auliya. I wrote to my friend Blochmann about it, but he was unable to give me any clue to the history of this saint. Of course, he was a member of the great family of Auliya, of whom the most famous was Nizâm-ud-din, the contemporary of Muhammad Tughlak, and an accessory to the murder of the king's father.

The tomb is situated near the village of Begampur, and about 3 miles to the north of the Kutb Masjid. Near it, on the north, there is a curious little domed building, something like the corner tower of a garden. It is called Kharbûje-ki-gumbazi, or the "melon-shaped cupola," from the melon-like indentations of its dome. This little building was the dwelling-place of the saint whilst alive, and a most uncomfortable dwelling-place it must have been. It consists of a lower storey, hexagonal outside and circular inside, the room being only 3 feet in diameter, and the entrance only 15½ inches wide. On the flat roof above stands the cupola on four pillars each 7 inches square, and 2 feet 10 inches apart, forming a room of 4 feet square, open on all sides. The actual height of the cell below could not be ascertained, as it is half silted up. In the upper room the saint used to spend the day, and to sleep in the circular hole below at night. In bad weather also he retired to this hole. Here he lived and here he died; and the only other fact known about him is that his tomb, called the Lâl Gumbaz, or "Red Dome," was built by a *Banjâra*. There is a well immediately in front of the melon cupola, and only 9 feet distant from its doorway. In this well there is an inscription of thirteen lines, which is so much

weather-worn that I was unable to read more than the words—

Dar Amal Muhammad Shâh Bin Firoz Shâh.

"In the time of Mahammad Shah, the son of Firoz Shah."

As the well certainly belongs to the saint's strange dwelling I conclude that he must have died shortly after the invasion of Timur, or between A.H. 800 and 820. Muhammad Shâh reigned from A.H. 790 to 795.

The tomb itself is a square building of 45 feet side, containing a room inside 29 feet square. The slope of the walls is 14½ inches in 30 feet.[1] The terrace on which the building stands is 5 feet high. It is made of squared blocks of granite, but the whole of the superstructure is faced with the red sandstone from which the tomb derives its name of Lâl Gumbaz. The walls are battlemented. The dome, which springs from a battlemented octagon, is highly pointed, with the remains of a very small pinnacle on the top, like all buildings of the Tughlak period. The entrance door is lofty, with a high pointed arch and broad white marble borders. Each stone of the arch is formed into a richly ornamented cusp. The actual doorway is small, more than one-half of the archway being closed by a bold trellis, placed over a flat architrave, supported on three corbels on each side.

Outside the back wall of the building there are triangular-shaped iron rings, fixed about 2 feet apart from the terrace to the battlement. These rings are sufficiently large to afford a good grasp for a man's hand and a good hold for a naked foot, and they were, no doubt, built into the wall originally to enable a workman to climb up to the roof, as there is no staircase in the wall of the tomb. The people, however, are not satisfied with this simple explanation. Their story is that two thieves fastened these rings in the wall in a single night, for the purpose of carrying off the golden pinnacle on the top of the dome. There were four thieves in the party, but two of them remained below. Of the two who ascended, one died on the roof, and the other became blind, through the displeasure of the saint. The two men below carried off the gold, with which they are said to have built themselves

[1] See Plate XXXIII for an elevation of this tomb.

tombs; but both of the tombs fell down, and nothing now remains of them. The rings are shown in the sketch of the tomb given in plate XXXIII.

XLIX.—CHOR-MINAR.

The *Chor-Minâr*, or "Thieves' Pillar," is a round tower, pierced with numerous round holes for the reception of human heads. I first saw this tower in 1871, when I guessed that it might be one of the pillars which the early Muhammadan kings were in the habit of building up with the decapitated heads of their prisoners. During my recent visit to the ruins of Delhi I determined to examine this tower more carefully, and, if possible, to ascertain its object. For this purpose I pitched my camp near the village of Begampur and close to the Chor-Minâr, which is about 3 miles to the north of the Kutb Masjid, and on the very edge of the old high road which passed along the western side of Jahânpanah. One of the old Kos Minârs stands close by it.

The Minâr is a round tower, 26 feet in height, with a lower diameter of 21 feet and upper diameter of 18½ feet. It stands on a raised terrace just 10 feet in height and 36 feet square. The top of the tower is, therefore, 36 feet above the ground. It was probably several feet higher when first built, as the top is now much broken. Inside, there is a winding staircase, 2½ feet wide Outside the lower part, up to 8 feet above the level of terrace, the tower is quite plain. At 8 feet there is a belt of moulding all round, above which at regular intervals there are nine rows of round holes, about 9 or 10 inches in diameter. In each row there are twenty-five holes, so that there still remain 225 holes for the reception of as many human heads. Three more rows of holes would have raised the number to 300, and the height of the tower to 41 feet above the terrace.

At the time of my visit in 1871 I could not gain any information whatever about this tower, and again during the whole morning of my late visit every man professed entire ignorance about it. In the meantime I had satisfied myself,

by the measurements just recorded, that the tower was intended for the reception of human heads, which was further confirmed by the discovery of something like human hair still sticking to the mortar in one of the holes. But during the course of the afternoon a party of three women, who happened to be passing by, gave the name of *Chor-Minârah*, with the explanation that, in former days, when thieves were executed, their heads were cut off and stuck into these holes, where they could be seen by all the people. The women also pointed to the Kos-Minâr close to the roadside, and said that all the travellers along the road could see the heads.

I have read the numerous executions of dakaits and robbers whose heads were thus exposed, but, as well as I can remember, the numbers never exceeded 30 or 40 in a single gang. On the other hand, the recorded numbers of heads of prisoners taken in war usually ran up to many thousands. But I believe that it was only the heads of the chiefs and principal men that were thus treated, when those of the common soldiers were simply piled up in pyramids. Thus Zia-ud-Barni, speaking of the Mughals slain by Ala-ud-din Khalji, says that "their heads were piled up into pyramids, or built into towers." In another place he mentions a particular tower of heads built in front of the Badaun gate, "which," he adds, "remains to this day a memento of Ala-ud-din."[1] According to Wassâf this pillar was built of 60,000 heads.[2]

Similar towers were erected by Firoz Tughlak in Bengal, amounting to the incredible number of 180,000 heads.[3] Several were built by Timur of the heads of Kafirs in Afghanistân and of Hindûs heads near the Kutb Masjid at Delhi. Bahlôl, after the defeat of the Râna's troops near Ajmer, built a pillar of heads. Bâber also built a tower of skulls on the small hill to the north-west of Chanderi; and even the tolerant Akbar erected a pyramid of more than 2,000 heads near Ahmedâbâd in Gujrât.[4]

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, p. 397.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 297.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 368.

This is the latest record that I have been able to find of this barbarous custom.

L.—TOMB OF FIROZ SHAH.

The tomb of the Emperor Firoz Tughlak is situated close to the Hauz-Khâs, or great reservoir constructed by Firoz himself. Timur, in his autobiography, does not mention the tomb, but simply says there are "buildings placed around the reservoir."[1] The Hauz-Khâs still exists with several buildings on its eastern side. Amongst these is the tomb of Firoz Shâh, with a masjid and a madrasa close by.

Sayid Ahmed states that the tomb of Firoz was built by his son Nasir-ud-din Muhammad in A.H. 792, or A.D. 1389, and that he himself is buried inside, as well as his son Sikandar Shâh. There are certainly three large graves inside, the middle one being that of Firoz, while the two others would be those of his son and grandson. The tomb itself is a massive stone building, 46½ feet square outside, and 28 feet inside.[2] It has the usual four openings, one in each side, that to the south being the entrance, whilst the others are closed. The walls are of grey stone, plastered both inside and out. There are two lines of battlements, both of red stone, the lower line crowning the main walls, and the upper line crowning the octagonal plinth, from which springs the plain hemispherical dome. The pinnacle is small and insignificant, like all others of the same period.

The sarcophagus of Firoz is of white marble, standing on a pavement of white marble in small squares. The pendentive arches have a very slight horse-shoe shape. The entrance doorway is a tall pointed arch, filled with a thick trellis of red stone. Over the arch there is an inscription of two lines in stucco, the beginning of which is broken off. But the remainder is generally in fair order, as may be seen in Sayid Ahmed's facsimile.[3] The inscription consists of two lines in the top of

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III. p. 441.
[2] See Plate XXXIV.
[3] Asar-us-Sunadîd, 2nd edition, p. 32 of Plates.

the arch, immediately over the trellised opening. The upper line opens with the usual formula of *Bismillah*, &c., but the left half records the repair of the tomb by Sikandar Lodi. The lower line contains the name and titles of Firoz Shah, and is probably a copy of the original inscription. The upper line reads as follows. In Sayid Ahmed's copy the title of Shâh is omitted after Bahlôl, and the portion of it immediately following the Kalimah he has left unread.

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله * * فرمایش کرده میان ده ماه مرتب
گردانیده شد در عهد سلطان السلاطین سلطان سکندر بن سلطان السلاطین
سلطان بهلول شاه خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه در بستم ماه
مبارک رمضان سنه ثلث عشر و تسعمایة ؛

The lower line is partly read by Sayid Ahmed as follows :—

* * * سلطان السلاطین فیروز شاه طاب ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بسبب
* * کشته بود * * * * :

* * * * *

Mr. Carr-Stephen has apparently read the sentence immediately following the Kalimah in the same way as given above, as he translates that part of the inscription as follows[1] :—

"Ordered——— and was built in ten months."

As I understand the words, the repair of the tomb was distinctly ordered by Sikandar Lodi, and was completed in ten months, in the year 913 A.H. Then follow the name and titles of the sovereign—

"During the time of the King of Kings, the Sultân Sikandar, son of King of Kings, the Sultan Bahlôl Shâh. May God preserve his kingdom and his reign."

[1] The Archæology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, by Carr-Stephen, p. 158.

In the lower line we have—

"The King of Kings, Firoz Shâh. May his ashes be sanctified, and may he obtain a place in Paradise."

LI.—SHÂHPUR.

Near the village of Shâhpur I found a small masjid consisting of a low room, only 9½ feet square, with a long inscription of five lines in perfect preservation, dated in 753 A.H., the second year of the reign of Firoz Tughlak. As it escaped the notice of Sayid Ahmed, I give it in full[1] :—

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اذا رايتم الرجل يتعاهد المسجد

فاشهد واله بالايمان فان الله يقول انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم

الاخر * بناء اين مسجد در عهد دولت سلطان اعظم قهرمان معظم الواثق

بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه باني اين

خير بنده اميدوار رحمت پروردگار بهادر مولي مولي اميرالمومنين المدعو

نياز خان تقبل الله منه في الغرة من رمضان سنه ثلث و خمسين سبعمايه

For the following translation I am indebted to Maulvi Ataor Rahman :—

"The Prophet (may the peace of God be with him!) hath said, 'A man who renews the mosques gives evidence of his faith, for God himself hath said, "No one builds a mosque for the sake of God but one who has faith in God, and in the last day (day of judgment)."' This mosque was built in the reign of the great King, the mighty Ruler, Abu-ul-Muzaffar Firoz Shâh, the Sultân. May God preserve his kingdom and his reign.

"The builder of this useful work is the humble being, expectant of the grace of God, Bahâdur Mowla, the slave of the Commander of the faithful, known by the name of Niyâz Khân. May God accept him!"

"On the 1st day of Ramzân 753 A.H. (A.D. 1352)."

LII.—TOMB OF MUBARAK SHÂH.

The village of Mubârakpur, better known as Kotila, is remarkable for the number of its large tombs. The finest

[1] See Plate XXXI for a facsimile of this inscription.

tomb is that of Mubârak Shâh himself. It is an octagonal domed building, of 71 feet diameter, standing in the middle of an octagonal enclosure, of 250 feet side and 600 feet diameter. The tomb consists of an octagonal room, 31 feet 7½ inches in diameter, with walls 8 feet 6½ inches thick. surrounded by a veranda, 7¾ feet broad, with outer walls of 3 feet 7 inches. There is a door in each face of the inner walls, and three arched openings, supported on double pillars, on each of the outer faces. At each angle of the octagon outside there is a sloping buttress, which terminates with the battlements of the lower storey, 28 feet in height, including the plinth.

The upper storey consists of the flat-terraced roof of the veranda, with its battlements outside, and the octagonal plinth of the dome on its inner side. In the centre of each face there is an eight-pillared cupola. The dome is a pointed hemisphere, crowned by a six-pillared cupola, standing on a foliated base. The whole building is about 70 feet high. There are small medallions of coloured glazed tiles in the spandrils of the arches, and a band of blue gazed tiles on the entrance gateway of the courtyard, but all the other ornaments are in stucco.

To the west of the Kotila there is a large square tomb of 71 feet 8 inches side. It has a projection in the middle of each side with a high archway reaching up to the battlements. There is a peculiar feature in all the square tombs of this period, which have a mixture of Hindû-Muhammadan styles in all their doorways. The tall arch is a true Muhammadan arch, but the actual doorway is a small corbelled opening of the common Hindû form. I have already described two examples of this kind in the tombs of Firoz Tughlak and Kabir-ud-din Auliya.

The name of the owner of the tomb is not known, and the people are content to call him the *Bura Khân*, or " Great Khân," while another square tomb close by is assigned to the *Chota Khân*, or " Little Khân." The dome of the Great Khân's tomb is a simple hemisphere springing from a plinth of sixteen sides, with small turrets at the angles. The span is 46 feet 6 inches. The only ornamentation on the face of the

building consists of three tiers of panels. The tomb is about 70 feet high.

The tomb of the Chota Khân is much smaller, the side of the square being only 42 feet, with a dome of 26½ feet span. It was highly decorated with flowered ornaments and inscriptions in stucco. It has the same tall archway in the middle of each face with a band of blue glazed tiles above and the same Hindû corbelled doorway below as in the tomb of the Bara Khân. The outer faces also are ornamented in the same manner with two tiers of panels. There is also a band of blue tiles round the neck of the pinnacle where it springs from the dome. The open doorway is to the south. The other three doorways are closed with massive trellises of red stone.

At a short distance to the east of these two tombs there is a small nameless tomb, only 27 feet square. It is generally of the same style, excepting the battlements, which are of a more elaborate and flowering pattern. The people attribute it to some unknown Pathân noble.

LIII.—KHAIRPUR.

The large village of Khairpur stands opposite the tomb of Safdar Jang, at a short distance to the east, on the road leading towards Humâyun's tomb. It is remarkable for a number of fine buildings, of which one has hitherto escaped general observation. I discovered it in 1865, when it was used as a cow-house, and was completely begrimed with smoke and dirt and cow-dung both inside and outside; and yet this building was the Jâmi Masjid of Khairpur, built in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Its whole surface is profusely decorated with ornaments and inscriptions in stucco on a blue ground, both inside and out. I have given a plan of the mosque in the accompanying Plate. It is a single room, 82 feet long and only 17¾ feet broad, divided into five bays.[1] The three central bays are roofed with hemispherical domes, and the two end bays with low flattish vaults.

[1] See Plate XXXVI.

In the south-west corner of the masjid inside there is the following inscription of nine lines on an alternately red and blue ground. The letters are raised in stucco.[1]

بصـــم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الله تبارک وتعالی ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا عمارت

ین بقعه شریف در عهد سلطان السلاطین بادشاه رابع مسکون برگزیده

حضرت کن فیکون الواثق بالتائید الرحمن ابو المظفر سکندر شاه بن بهلول

شاه سلطان کانه خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه در عمارت مسجد

جامع نوع بنا کرد مغفور مرحوم پسر مغل ابو امجد و محمد حبان بتاریخ غره

ماه ربیع الاول سنه تسعمایه

"In the name of God, the most beneficent and merciful.

"God the gracious and most high saith, 'Indeed mosques are for God, so do not invoke any one with God.'

"This noble edifice was built in the reign of the Emperor of Emperors, the King of the inhabited fourth part of the globe, the favoured one of the Almighty, the dependent on the help of the Most Gracious, Abul-Muzaffar Sikandar Shâh, son of Bahlol Shâh, the Sultân. May God preserve his kingdom and reign for ever, and exalt his dignity and position! The Jâmi Mosque has been newly built by the sons of the deceased Mughal Abu Amjad and Muhammad Habban, on the 1st of Rabi-ul-Awal 900 A.H. (30th November 1494 A.D.)"

This mosque stands on the west side of an enclosure, 104 feet long by 82 feet broad, raised 10 feet above the ground. To the south is a grand entrance gateway, very much like the Alai Gateway of the Kutb Masjid. To the east there is a line of rooms for readers of the Korân, and in the middle of the court there is a raised platform, 25½ feet square, on which stands the tomb of the founder. This was originally faced with red stone, but all the red stones, save those let into the ground, have been carried off.

[1] See Plate XXXVII for a facsimile of this inscription.

In the south-west corner of the court there is a small doorway opening on two flights of steps built in the thickness of the wall. One of these runs to the south to the roof of the masjid, and the other to the north, to the roof of the gateway. This gateway of the Khâirpur Jâmi Masjid is one of the finest buildings amongst the ruins of Delhi.[1] In its general plan, both inside and out, in the arrangement of its openings, in its concentric arched pendentives, as well as in its dimensions, it is undoubtedly a copy of the famous Alai-Darwâza of the Kutb Masjid. It possesses, also, the same bench or seat, 2¾ feet high and 1½ feet broad, all round the inside, and has precisely the same small brackets at the angles of the octagon. It is somewhat larger than its prototype, being 6½ feet square outside and 40 feet inside, while the Alai-Darwâza is only 56½ feet outside and 34½ feet inside.[2] Its height is also much greater, as the walls are continued upward above the octagon in two tiers, one of sixteen sides and the upper thirty-two sides, to the spring of the dome; whereas in the Alai-Darwâza the dome springs at once from the octagon. This extra height adds to the dignity of the building outside. The height of the battlement of the gateway above the courtyard is 34¼ feet, and above the ground outside 44½ feet. The neck of the dome outside is 15¾ feet, and the dome itself is 28½ feet. Adding these together, the total height of the building above the courtyard is 77¾ feet, or 88 feet above the fields.

The difference between the two buildings at present lies in the ornamentation, which in the Alai-Darwâza is very rich, whereas the walls of the Khairpur Gateway are now quite plain, both inside and out. I believe, however, that they were originally covered with stucco ornaments and inscriptions like the walls of the masjid, and that they probably gave a very close copy of all the decorations of the Alai-Darwâza.

The date of the building is 900 A H. It is, therefore, 187 years later than its prototype the Alai-Darwâza.

[1] No. 286, p. 51C.

[2] See Plate XXXVIII for a plan of this gateway.

Close by, on to the north of the Khairpur Masjid, and immediately opposite the centre of the court, there is a large tomb, 57 feet 8 inches square outside, and 33 feet square inside. Its floor is raised 10 feet above the ground, and from its position I judge it to be the resting-place of some relative of the builder of the masjid. It is now quite plain inside, but, as the pendentive semi-domes still retain their plaster, I conclude that the whole building was originally plastered over both inside and out. It has bands of red stone and blue glazed tiles outside, and the spandrils are made entirely of red stone. The glazed tiles are of two colours—a light blue and a dark blue.

At a short distance to the south-west of the masjid there is an octagonal tomb, which the people of the village attribute to Mubârak Khân Pathân. It is nearly in all respects similar to the tomb of Mubârak Shâh in Mubârakpur Kotila. Its inside diameter is 31 feet 10½ inches, and its outside diameter 72 feet 2½ inches. It has some sloping buttresses at the angles, and the same open cupolas, one on each side of the upper storey. There is an excellent vignette of this tomb in Fergusson's Indian Architecture.[1] He describes it in the following terms:—

" It consists of an octagonal apartment, about 50 (*read* 30) feet in diameter, surrounded by a verandah following the same form, each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Pathâns, and it is supported by double square columns, which are almost as universal with them as this form of arch."

To the north-east of the masjid there is another octagonal tomb of almost the same dimensions as the last, its inside diameter being 31 feet 5 inches and its outer diameter 73 feet 8 inches. It stands in the middle of a large enclosure, 122 feet square, with battlemented walls, ornamented with niches all round. It has the same sloping buttresses, the same coupled pillars, and originally had the same eight open cupolas in the middle of each face of the upper storey. The plinths of all of these eight cupolas still remain, together with capi-

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. II, p. 205.

tals and pieces of pillar shafts. There are several traces of ornamentation with light blue tiles.

This tomb is so exactly like that of Mubârak Shâh at Kotila that I have no doubt Sayid Ahmed is quite right in assigning it to Muhammad Shâh bin Farid, the nephew and successor of Mubârak. A comparison of the following measurements of these two tombs and that of Mubârak Khân just described will show how closely they agree. Below them I have placed the dimensions of the great octagonal tomb at Tejâra.

	Inside diameter.		Outside diameter.	
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Kotila—Mubârak Shâh . . .	31	7½	71	4½
Khairpur—Muhammad bin Farid .	31	5	73	8
Do. —Mubârak Khân . . .	31	10½	72	2
Tejâra—Ala-ud-din Alam . . .	48	6	128	0

The dome of Humâyun's tomb is only 47 feet in diameter.

About 150 yards to the east of the tomb of Muhammad bin Farid, there is a bridge of seven arches, which is said to have been built by Nawâb Bahâdur, who had been at Kabul in the time of Akbar. The middle arch, as usual, is the largest, the other arches decreasing in span from the middle. The piers are 7 feet 4 inches thick, and the whole length of the bridge is as follows:—

	Ft.	In.
Middle arch	12	4
Two next arches, at 11 ft. 4½ in. . .	22	9
Two next arches, at 10 ft. 4 in. . .	20	8
Two outer arches, at 9 ft 1¼ in. . .	18	3
Waterway	74	0
Six piers, at 7 ft. 4 in.	44	0
Two abutments, at 7 ft. 4 in. . . .	14	8
Total length . .	132	8

It is called Khairpur-kâ-Pûl, and also *Ath-palâ*, or the "Eight Pâlas." On the old road leading from Delhi to Agra there is a similar bridge of eleven arches, which is called *Bâra-Pala*, or the "Twelve Pâlas." In both cases it is clear that the

name cannot refer to the arches. Now, *Pala* is applied to the leaf of a door, and a *do-pala darwâza* means "two leaves." In the case of these bridges I believe that the term applies to the pairs of small minarets which flank the piers and abutments. In the larger bridge there are twelve pairs of these minârs, and in the smaller bridge there are eight pairs of them. Hence the bridges became known as the *Bâra-pala*, or "Twelve Pairs," and the *Ath-pala*, or "Eight Pairs."

LIV.—OKHALA.

At the small village of Okhala, where the new Agra Canal leaves the Jumna, there formerly stood an old square tomb of stone which dated from the time of the Emperor Iltitmish. When the head-works of the canal were begun the tomb was pulled down, but the Arabic inscription over its doorway was removed to the Delhi Museum, where it now lies. The tomb had already lost its roof, as may be seen in the lithographed sketch in Sayid Ahmed's description of the old buildings of Delhi.[1] But the building was interesting as one of the few remains of the earliest Muhammadan buildings in India. Its arched entrance was formed by corbels, or overlapping stones, meeting in a point at top. Inside the mihrâb, or western niche, was a cusped arch, formed in the same way, with an inscription in letters, 8½ inches in height, making a broad border on the top and sides. This inscription records the name and high-sounding titles of the Emperor Iltitmish as follows :—

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم سلطان السلاطين

العادل شمس الدنيا والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين وارث ملك سليمان

ابو المظفر ايلتمش السلطان

"The great Sultân, the mighty Emperor, master of the necks of the people, king of the just kings of the world, Shams-ud-dunya-wa-ud-din, the supporter of Islâm and of Moslems, the successor to the kingdom of Solomon, Abu-ul-Muzaffar Iltitmish, the Sultân."

[1] Asâr-us-Sanâdîd, 1st edition, p. 53.

In the Delhi Museum there is another inscription which is believed to have come from the same place. It is placed round a small square-headed niche, 1 foot 10 inches high by 10 inches broad inside,—the two lines of writing above and below, and one line on each side. The two top lines with the right-hand line contain the Kalimeh and sentences from the Korân. The latter half of the left-hand line contains the date of A.H. 608, which is thus expressed, *fi Shahur Sanh Samân wa Sitamiah*. The uppermost of the two lower lines is quite illegible, but the lower line contains the name of Kutb-ud-din Aibak. The date, however, is one year later than that assigned by the historians.

INDEX.

From DELHI
CANAL
JUMNA R.
PILU-BAN
Pilona
Hodal
Punahând
Bichori
Kotban
Noh
Kosi
Shergarh
Charan Pahâr
KOKILA-BAN
Tumaula
Nandgaon
Châta
Khaira
KHADIR-BAN
BHADRA-BAN
Barsana
Ajângarh
Kâmau
Suhâr
Chaumuha
Mât
KADAMB-BAN
BEL-BAN
BRINDÂ-BAN
KATAK-BAN
Kotan
Jaysingpur
LOH-BAN
Govardhan
MATHURA
Lohban
Dîg
Bhy
Aring
Pankhera
MADHU-BAN
Maholi
Gokul
Anyor
Unchagaon
KAMUDA-BAN
Târsi
Kasba Ao
MAHA-BAN
TÂL-BAN
Sonkh
Mahavan
Farah
Kumbhir
Parkham
Ao
Jhandwai
CANAL
from JAYPUR
BHARATPUR
to AGRA
Achnera
Miles
A. Cunningham, del.

MATHURA. TREE ON BACK.

A B

3 ... broad

1

RANKALI MOUND.

4

2

MATHURA.

5

3

COLOSSAL STATUE

7. FEET HIGH.

INSCRIPTIONS
to right and left
of foot.

A. Cunningham, del.

GROUND PLAN.
The Undisturbed Pillars are shaded.

CEILING PLAN
SHOWING
OLD ROOF STILL EXISTING

10 5 0 10 Feet

A Cunningham del

From a Photograph

ASSI-KAMBHA MASJID

BAYÂNA.

TAHANGARH.

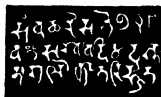
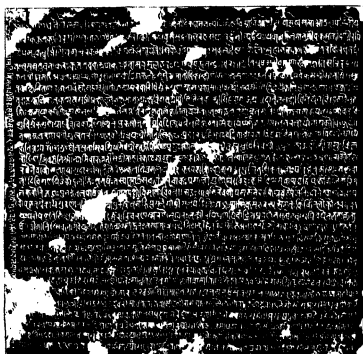
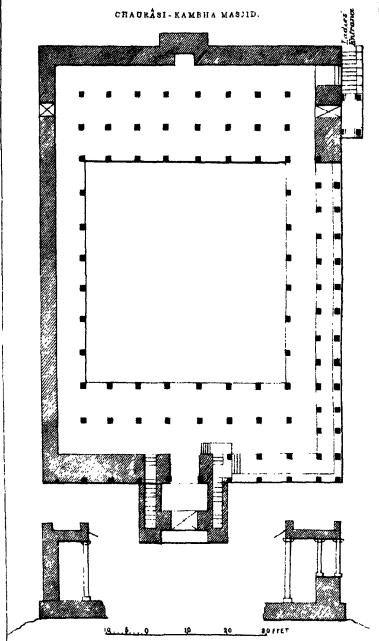
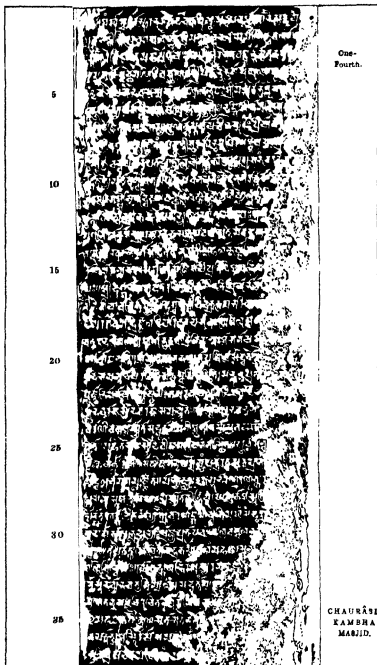
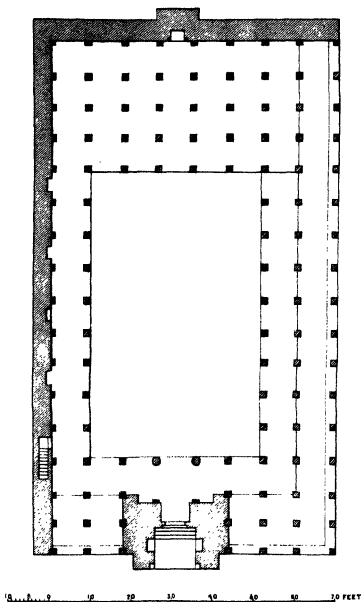
GURGAON.

MAHÂBAN.

Photo from Impressions

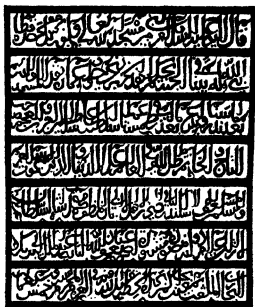
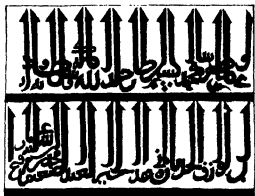
A Cunningham del

Photo from Impressions

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 FEET
A Cunningham del

ALA-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD KHALJI.

A. H.—705.

ALA-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD KHALJI.

Photo from Impressions

1

BAYÂNA.

GATEWAY OF MASJID.

JHÂLAR BAOLI.

3

2

A H.—720

A H.—718

A.H.—718.

TB-UD-DIN MUBÂRAK SHAH.

Photo. from Impressions

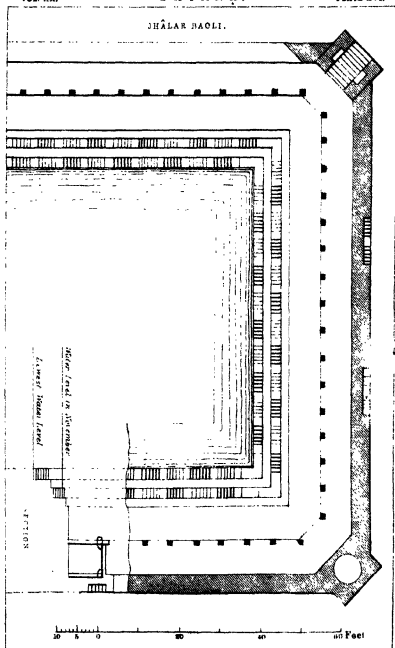
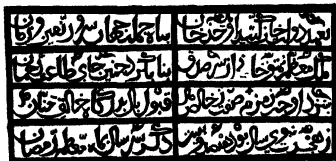
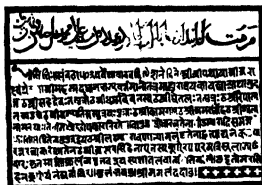
JHÂLAR BAOLI.
Water level in November
Lowest Water level
SECTION
10 5 0 20 40 60 Feet
A. Cunningham, del.

1. BAYÂNA—AUHAD KHAN, A. H.—820.

2. BAYÂNA—MUHAMMAD KHAN, A. H.—850.

3. BAYÂNA, DÂÜD KHAN, A. H.—861.

Photo from Impressions

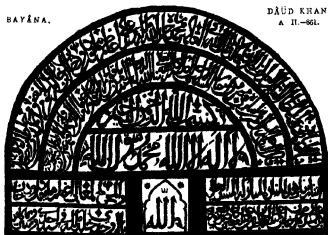
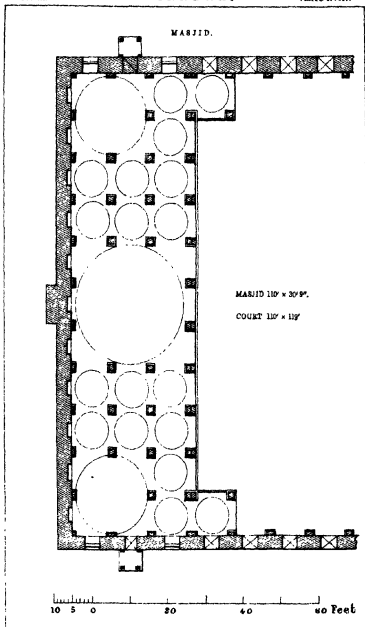
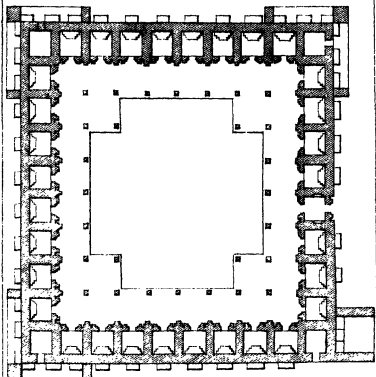
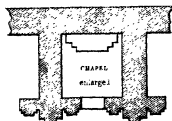
MASJID.
MASJID 110' × 30' 9".
COURT 110' × 119'
10 5 0 20 40 60 Feet

TAHANGARH.

ISLAM SHAH, A.H.—953.

IBRAHIM LODI, A.H.—925.

Photo from Impressions

A. Cunningham, del.

INSCRIPTION
ON PILLAR OF JAIN TEMPLE.

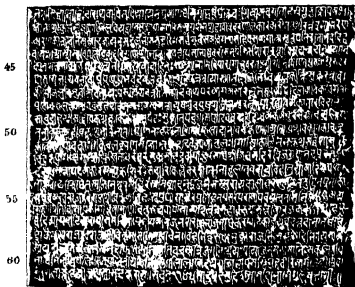



Photo from Impressions

TEMPLE

A Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham, del

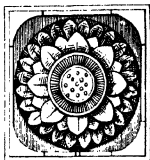
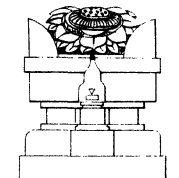
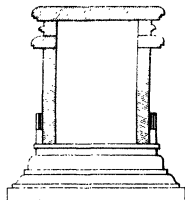
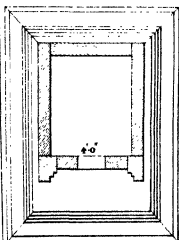
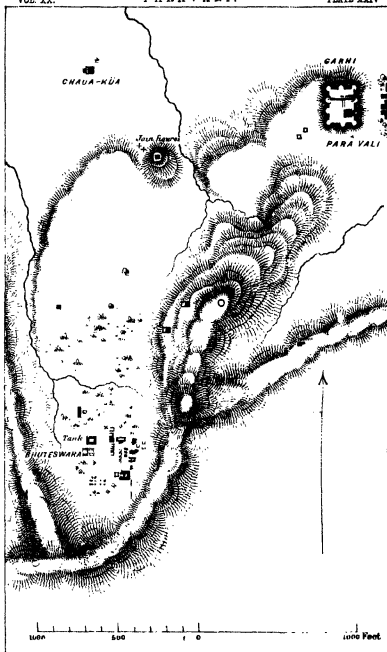
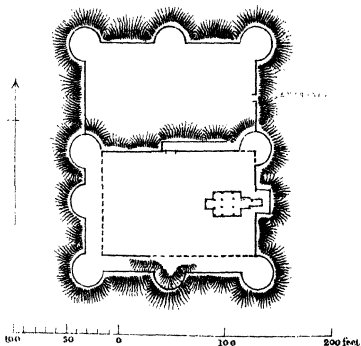
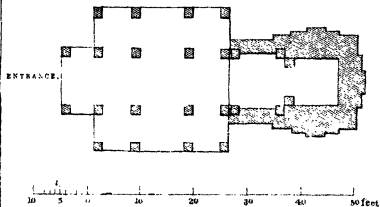
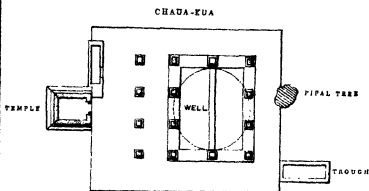
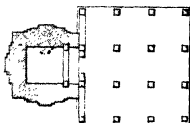
ENTRANCE.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet
100 50 0 100 200 feet

CHAUA-KUA

TEMPLE

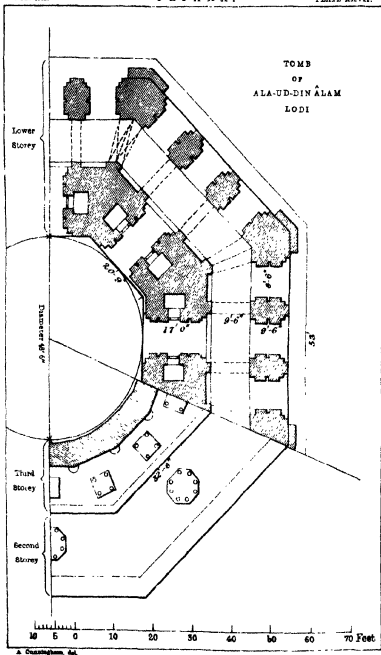
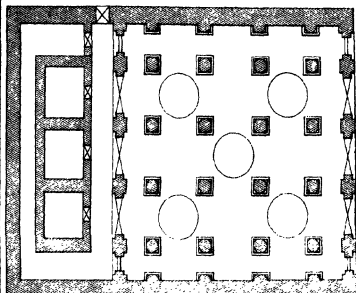
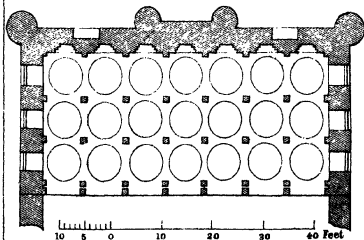
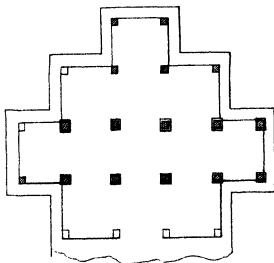
WELL

PIPAL TREE

TROUGH

A. TEMPLE OF BHUTESWARA

C.
TEMPLE OF SIVA

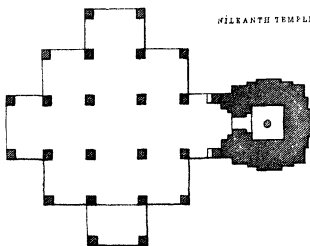
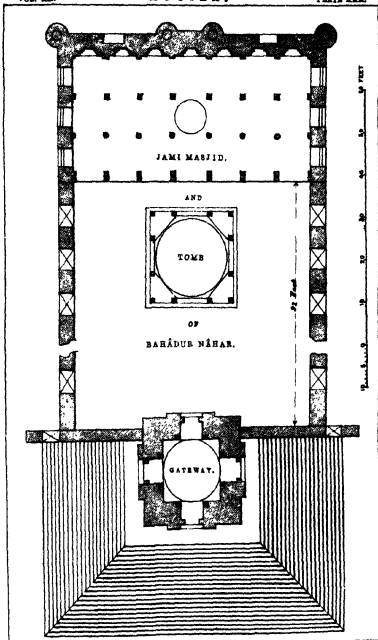
B.
TEMPLE OF VISHNU

TOMB
OF
ALA-UD-DIN ÂLAM
LODI
Lower
Storey
Third
Storey
Second
Storey
Diameter 48' 6"
20' 9"
17' 0"
9' 6"
9' 6"
9' 6"
53'
32' 6"
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 Feet
A. Cunningham, del.

A Cunningham, del

JALSIN TEMPLE—TALAO.

NÎLKANTH TEMPLE.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

A. Cunningham, del

VOL. XX.
KOTILA.
PLATE XXX.
JAMI MASJID.
AND
TOMB
OF
BAHÂDUR NÂHAR.
GATEWAY.
92 Feet
A Cunningham, del.

DELHI

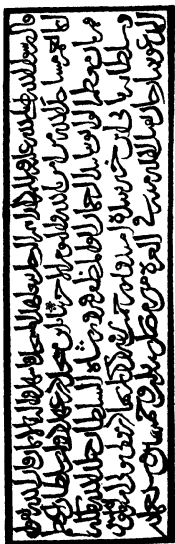
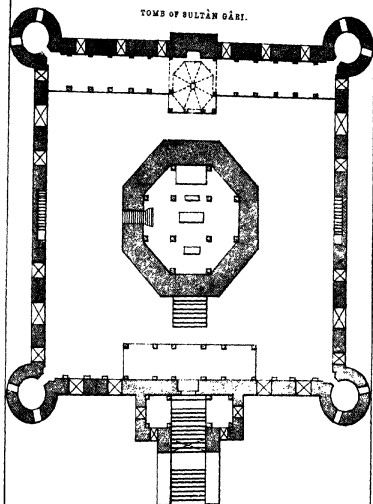
KOTILA
BAHÁDUR-NÁHAR
A.H. 796—803.

FIROZ SHAH—A.H. 753.

Photo from Impressions.

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del

CHOR-MINAR

TOMB

OF

FIROZ SHAH

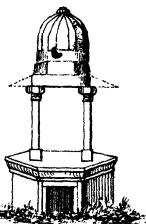
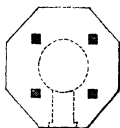
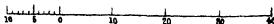
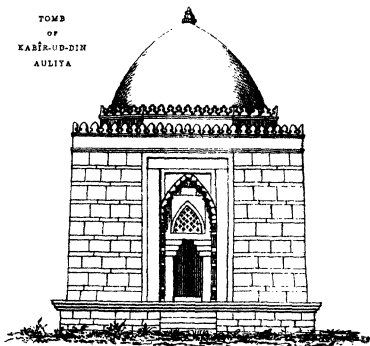
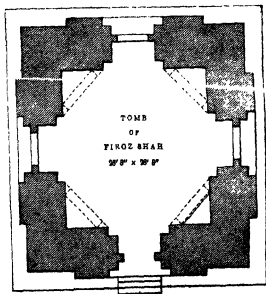
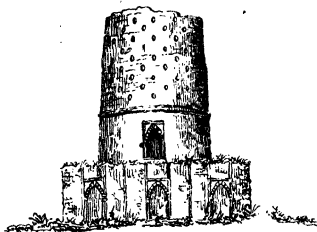
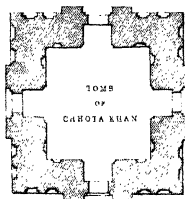
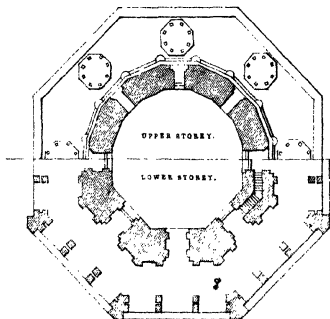
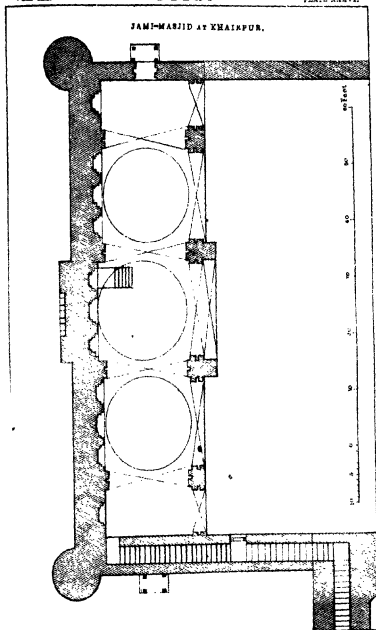
28' 8" x 28' 8"

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

A. Cunningham, del.

A. Cunningham, del.

JAMI-MASJID AT KHAIRPUR.

A Cunningham, del.

BAYÁNA.

DAULAT KHAN, A.H.—961.

DHOLPUR.

BIBI ZARINA, A.H.—942.

KHAIRPUR MASJID.

SIKANDAR LODI, A.H —900.

Photo. from Impressions.

B Tomb

D Tomb

F Bridge

A Masjid

G

C Gateway

E Tomb

GENERAL MAP
OF
KHAIRPUR BUILDINGS